

THE WORLDVIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC NEW ZEALAND TERTIARY
STUDENTS:
ANALYSIS THROUGH NATIONAL GROUPINGS VERSUS ANALYSIS BASED ON
INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE MEASURES

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Dedicated in loving memory of Edna, Kitty and Nikki.

Abstract

The present study investigated the construct of characterising societies as being either individualistic or collectivist as topics of research in the field of cross cultural tolerance. Using scenarios to describe behaviours typically encountered in New Zealand society, participants from individualist and collectivist cultures were asked to rate behaviours as to how much they understood and accepted the actions described. The participants' responses were also analysed using attitude measures to seek if similarity in attitudes was a more informative approach to determine why one individual does or does not accept certain behaviours. The study found that although there were general cultural differences between the two groups, individual attitudes went further in explaining possible reasons why acceptance and tolerance of other's behaviours may occur. The findings were then discussed in terms of how they were relevant to both biculturalism and multiculturalism in New Zealand.

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Introduction

New Zealand is one of the leading receivers of overseas migrants in the world (Singham, 2006).

Increasingly large numbers of people from diverse cultures are coming to live side by side with each other. Although New Zealand has enjoyed a large amount of success with this cultural blend, there are still instances when different cultural groups may have difficulty working alongside each other.

The predominant framework for bringing these cultures together is the concept of multiculturalism (Clarke, 2006). Under this system cultural groups are allowed both to practice and to have respected customs and practices that are important to them. Fleras (1998), however, argued that mandated multiculturalism often provides a legal bases for cultural differences but without seeking to find ways in which those different cultures can come to an understanding of each other.

One of the controversies with multiculturalism is the way in which it could be seen as divisive. According to Clarke (2006) multiculturalism often reduces cultural groups into a unchanging category that may work against those from outside that group gaining a real understanding of what they are like as a group and as individuals. This lack of understanding may be a key component in why certain cultural groups come into conflict. According to Johnson and Johnson (1989), it is only by understanding other peoples' perspectives and openly communicating with them are people more likely to form positive relationships with others.

Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg (1997) argued that individuals often rely on the perception of similarity between themselves and others to gain empathy towards them. From this perspective the

reduction of cultural groups to categories may be preventing many individuals truly understanding those from other groups on a level that they might see some similarities. Cialdini et al. (1997) found that when individuals could see similarities in others they were more able to integrate the image of that person with their own sense of self and this may lead to prosocial and helpful attitudes between groups.

In order to test this sense of how similarity affects attitudes across a variety of contexts, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the types of attitudes individuals have. Attitudes of one group could then be compared with those of other groups to see if having similar attitudes influences prosocial feelings between members of different groups. One of the most popular measures of personal attitudes in cross cultural psychology is the comparison of individualist and collectivist beliefs. Collectivist individuals are defined as being primarily motivated by the norms of their in-groups and motivated by the goals and needs for those groups (Jackson, Colquitt, Wesson & Zapata-Phelan, 2006). Individualists, on the other hand, are primarily motivated by personal goals and ambitions. For example, Hui and Yee (1994) measured how highly prioritised individuals' attitudes are towards either their own personal goals or towards those of the social groups to which they belong using a measure called the Individualism/Collectivism (INDCOL) scale. Their rationale was that an individual's behaviour is largely influenced by how interdependent they perceive themselves to be of their various social groups. This type of individualism/collectivism measure has been found to be important in how researchers understand the differences between many eastern and western cultures. This type of measure was used in the current study to examine differences between different groups in the multicultural society of New Zealand.

Although this construct of individualism and collectivism may seem like a good method to identify a more diverse range of factors present in a multicultural society, Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier (2002), warned that studies such as that of Hui and Yee (1994) may be inadvertently testing a number of other variables under the rubric of individualism and collectivism. Koltko-Rivera (2000) proposed a instrument to measure individual's worldviews, which he defined as the various attitudes, beliefs and understandings a person has about the world around them. The instrument, named the Worldview Assessment Instrument (WAI), took into account a much wider array of attitudes, such as locus of control, how changeable one sees others and to what extent one feels he/she has control over his/her life. Koltko-Rivera (2000), suggested that the influences of human behaviour are varied and complex. In order to test attitudes or worldviews from this perspective many different measures are required in order to demonstrate the complexity behind certain attitudes and behaviours.

By using measures such as the INDCOL and WAI to understand individuals' attitudes it may be possible to measure how much similarities in attitudes actually influence how understanding and inclusive individuals of different cultural heritage are towards each other. This would have implications to the way in which cross-cultural relations are managed, to further understanding and how similarities may be used to reduce some of the cultural distance between groups in a multicultural society (Clarke, 2006). According to Fleras (1998), by nurturing programs that encourage interaction and greater understanding between cultural groups, more positive cooperative outcomes may be achieved.

Literature Review

Individualism / Collectivism

One of the key dimensions that has been studied in cultural difference is the concept of individualism versus collectivism (Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). Individualist cultures promote the individual as the base unit of society, with their needs and wants being the main driving force in their behaviour. Collectivist culture, however, promotes the family as the base unit, with their requirements coming before that of individual wants. One way in which researchers have found success in comparing these groups is by studying how they manage different situations and relationships within their community. Studies that look at individualism and collectivism focus on the way in which members of a cultural group deal with other members of his/her group. Triandis, McCusker, Hui (1990) stated that in individualist cultures most peoples behaviour was focused around personal goals and the values within their social groups, particularly their family. In collectivist cultures, however, behaviour was more heavily influenced by larger community groups. Members of collectivist societies tended to focus more on the well-being of their social group rather than being more focused on their own individual goals.

Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990) identified several characteristics of individualist and collectivist groups. They noted that although these characteristics were present in pure or ideal examples of these groups, in reality, however, there were varying types of groups that may possess some characteristics and not others, and in varying degrees.

Collectivists groups, according to Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990), act more differently than individualists to those within their ingroup and to those in outgroups. Within his/her social ingroup (such as local community, nation or family) there was a sense of 'common fate', where survival and prosperity was seen as linked between group members. Behaviour in these groups is regulated mainly by ingroup norms. Hierarchy is very important in collectivist groups, with clear cut superiors and subordinates. Harmony and face saving are also important where internal disagreements should not be shared with outgroups. Interdependence and ingroup achievement are emphasised above individual aspirations and the group is seen as the basic unit of society. Individuals in these groups have a greater expectation to conform. Also vertical relationships (such as parent-child) are expected to take priority over horizontal relationships (like spouse-spouse). Members of these cultures often have stable ingroups that are highly influential in their lives. Hui and Triandis (1986) consider elements of collectivism to be; consideration for the implications of one's actions on the group, sharing material and non material resources, susceptibility to social influences, perception of being involved in other's lives, sharing outcomes and self-presentation/face saving.

In contrast, Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990) described individualist groups as being far more focused on the aspirations of the individual member. In these groups members act in a more even way towards ingroups and outgroups and personal goals take priority over conflicting ingroup goals. Behaviour in these ingroups is less governed by norms and more by likes, dislikes and cost-benefit analysis. Further, confrontation is seen as more acceptable. Individuals see self-reliance more in terms of 'doing their own things', rather than not being a burden to the group and individual achievement is more emphasised. The individual is the base unit and ingroups are often perceived as being more heterogeneous. Concern for the welfare of other ingroup members, is also often restricted to narrow

groups (such as immediate relatives) rather than larger ingroups. Individualists tend to pick and choose ingroups when it is convenient. Also horizontal relationships (e.g., relationships between chosen ingroups, such as partners in close relationships or friends) often take priority over vertical ones (e.g., cross-generation relationships such as father-son). Values such as achievement, competition and enjoyment are often more emphasised.

These differences in influence and in focus lead to variations in the behaviours of individuals in each type of culture (Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). For example, individualists may be more likely to favour self reliance, independence, self expression and emotional detachment, while collectivists may favour cooperation, interdependence, maintaining harmony and emotional attachment. These type of attitudes are useful within these cultural groups as they help the individual better manage the way they interact with others around them. In individualist societies members are more expected to 'look out for themselves and their families', whereas collectivists find strength in maintaining loyalty within groups for their protection.

Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990) note, however, that societies are not stable and as individuals continue to develop their worldview throughout their life there will be variation due to different experiences and conditions they find themselves in. For this reason, although there may be trends towards individualism or collectivism in societal groups, there is always going to be individual variation.

According to Hofstede (1980) it is possible to order nations on their level of individualism or collectivism. Countries such as those in North America, for example, demonstrate more individualist

characteristics than countries in Asia and South America. This is useful for research as it means that that these national groups can be compared based on these differences as a way of explaining why they may act differently in certain situations.

Studies of Individualism / Collectivism

There have been many studies that have illustrated differences in individualism and collectivism between different social groups (Hofstede, 1980). An example of this cultural difference has on individualistic and collectivist behaviours is illustrated by studies that showed differences between the groups, such as Eastern and Western cultures, regarding perception and understanding (Nisbett & Masuda, 2003). Nisbett and Masuda (2003) found Asian individuals tend to have a broader perceptual and conceptual field that may relate to their social environment that includes complex social relationships.

Individualism/Collectivism (INDCOL) Scale

In an attempt to identify what it means for cultures to be individualist or collectivist Hui and Triandis (1986) used questionnaires to gain the opinions of psychologists and anthropologists around the world. They concluded that collectivism could be defined in terms of; concern for others regarding the effects of actions, sharing of material and non material benefits, willingness to accept the views of others, concern about self presentation and loss of face and a belief that ones own goals are interdependent on others and their goals. Individualists focus less on these shared cognitions and focus more on their own goals and objectives.

In order to measure these constructs Hui (1984) developed the Individualism-collectivism scale (INDCOL Scale) that attempted to map individual differences as well as being an instrument for comparing world cultures. Hui's (1984) scale looked at collectivism across a range of settings; spouse, parents, kin, neighbours, friends and co-workers. He believed that not only could levels of collectivism be different between individuals, but also depended on what situation that individual was in. In a shortened version of the INDCOL scale Hui and Yee (1994) included a measure of individualism and collectivism in the form of Ingroup solidarity versus Social Obligation. Ingroup solidarity related to relationships of choice, where Social obligation includes those which an individual is expected to value.

The five domains that are measured by Hui and Yee's (1994) INDCOL scale are; Colleagues and Friends/Supportive exchanges (CF) (measuring how interdependent the individual is with friends/workmates.), Parents/consultation and sharing (PA) (measures how willing they are to seek parental advice relating to major decisions and events in their lives.), Kin and Neighbours/susceptibility to influence (KN) (indicate how open to influence a person is from their kin and neighbours.), Parents and Spouse/ distinctiveness of personal identity (PS) (measures the level of individualism the person demonstrates within their family/close relationships) and Neighbour/ Social isolation (NE) (measures how isolated a person is from those around them including neighbours and co-workers.).

Differences between collectivist and individualist attitudes can manifest themselves in different cognitions and behaviours. Cai and Fink (2002) studied the differences between conflict styles in individualist and collectivist groups. They found that certain styles, such as avoidance, were more likely to be used by those in the individualist group, where collectivists preferred compromising and

integrative styles. Avoidant strategies for conflict resolution involved the two parties in conflict attempting to not face each other, but rather to stay at a safe distance or change the subject.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) would argue, however, that this type of general testing of combined individualistic/ collectivist cultures might not give a true indication of the variation between the groups as the study used participants from 31 countries. By grouping different individuals into two general categories some important variations within members of these groups may have been overlooked. Moreover, some of these beliefs may also be quite subtle as there may be different beliefs behind common behaviours. Nagayama-Hall, Sue, Narang and Lilly (2000) found, for example, that sexual aggression in Asian men was often attributed to concerns about social status while American men identified more individual factors causing their behaviours.

A meta-analysis of studies of individualism and collectivism was carried out by Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier (2002). Their goal was to separate the widely viewed assumptions about the individualist/collectivist model and what had actually been shown in studies to supported. They found that many assumptions about whether nations were either collectivist or individualist had little support and variations in experimental design produced different results (e.g., changing the context in which the attitude is tested). They also questioned whether the constructs themselves were valid as they appeared they might be measuring a number of variables instead of a single one. A similar objection was raised by Koltko-Rivera (2004) who questioned the efficacy of reducing broad categories, such as individualism/collectivism, to a specific component and also how effective the use of national groupings is as compared to focusing studies on individual differences.

Although some of these studies focus on the broad separation between collectivism and individualism, others look at the idea that there may be different types of individualism and collectivism. In one study by Rhee (1994) groups of South Korean, European American and Asian American students were rated on the attitudes towards differences in individualism/collectivism in the sub-categories; kin collectivism, kin individualism, non-kin collectivism and non-kin individualism. Kin individualism and collectivism related to attitudes towards the individuals immediate close family, such as partners, parents and children, whereas non-kin categories focused on how the individual related to workmates and neighbours. The study also took into account the influence of situation (context). Rhee (1994) found that, in general, kin collectivism and individualism were strongly inversely related. Non-kin individualism and collectivism were only moderately inversely related. Kin and non-kin collectivism were related in all groups, while kin and non-kin individualism were moderately related only in the Asian American and Korean groups. Rhee (1994) suggested that this was a demonstration that there is justification for individualism and collectivism to be further divided to take into account context and that different cultural groups may demonstrate aspects of these divisions in various ways. Therefore, rather than clumping cultural or national groups together under the broad domains of individualist or collectivist, it would be beneficial to study the variation between different cultures within these domains. When these groups are brought together there may be common trends evident in their results a great deal of information may also be lost in the more subtle differences between the cultures and may create a false sense of the magnitude of similarity between them.

Although these studies seem to promote the idea that there are large scale trends within social groups towards certain types of attitudes and behaviours, Fiske (2002) argued that this can be quite misleading. According to Fiske (2002) small variations in measuring scales can lead to different interpretations and

findings in studies of this type. This trouble is researchers often treat nations and cultures as a measurable concept. Therefore, they run the risk of ignoring individual and contextual variations that may be far more important in explaining beliefs and attitudes. This concept is at the heart of the two measurement scales which are being examined, which aim to uncover different elements of worldviews, so they can be researched on an individual level. Individuals can then be compared not only based on nationality, but also on their identified attitudes.

Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier (2002), for example, found that several studies saw family focus as being characteristic of collectivism, however, some studies have found Americans to rate higher in family focus than Chinese and Japanese subjects. They suggested that this could mean that family obligation would be best treated as a separate factor to collectivism. They also found that the cognitions behind family obligations were different between these groups, where American participants saw family obligation as a personal choice rather than an obligation. It also highlighted the benefit of dividing the concepts of collectivism and individualism into context specific groups. Hui (1984) noted that all individuals hold varying degrees of individualism and collectivism specific to various contextual factors. This was an important point for the ongoing development of their tests, as they started to move away from the general construct of individualist and collectivists and incorporate the context in which the individual is operating and how this is also influencing how he/she deals with group conflict/ relations.

Worldviews

In contrast to Hui and Yee's (1994) position, Koltko-Rivera (2004) argued that each individual carries with him/her a set of assumptions about his/her social and physical world, or 'worldview', that has a

dramatic effect on behaviour. These assumptions are used not only to organise the thoughts and feelings of the individual, but also used to communicate with and understand other members of their community (Shweder, 1991). For example, in a community it may be widely accepted that certain events like storms and eclipses are influenced by metaphysical or spiritual events. This would influence the type of language that was used to discuss these events and what types of behaviours may come about to deal with these environmental changes (Ibrahim, 1985).

Worldviews can be thought of as a lens through which individuals see the world around them (Koltko-Rivera, Ganey, Dalton & Hancock, 2004). Worldviews may include assumptions of cause and effect, notions of good and bad, and even what goals are desirable in life. These assumptions may also include ideas that cannot be proved but are nevertheless part of the individual's belief system. This is demonstrated by how members of different groups may have varying concepts of how and why events occur, which they find to be valid and acceptable.

Culture and worldview are both dependant on each other. Not only are worldviews important in communication within a cultural group, but also they also help organise the way in which members perceive and think about various norms, symbols and behaviours. This influence of culture is observed in how individuals within a culture may hold a number of similar ideas or values. This might be something very specific, such as how one should treat a various individuals, or a larger, more general trend of behaviour. An example of this would be the concept of individualism/collectivism that refers to how individuals manage disparity between their own agenda and that of their group (Koltko-Rivera, Ganey, Dalton & Hancock, 2004).

Worldviews and the Worldview Assessment Instrument

In order to help better understand the concept of worldview Koltko-Rivera (2000) developed a measure to map out individual world views, the Worldview Assessment Instrument (WAI). The WAI was created by combining several other studies on worldviews to make a multi-dimensional assessment tool. These dimensions are made up of a number of scales addressing different parts of worldviews. The test itself is made up of 59 statements with which individuals indicate their level of agreement using a Likert-scale.

When developing a model of worldview Koltko-Rivera (2004), considered the influence of culture on the way we think. He took into account not only the broad influences of culture but insisted that there are variations amongst collectivist and individualist cultures. Part of this influence may also be due to certain economic or environmental factors that are common to a certain society. Koltko-Rivera (2004) believed his integrated worldview theory took into account cultural influences and also was flexible enough to account for individual variation.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) visualised worldview as a complex map that covered many different aspects of the individual's belief systems. Therefore, the WAI was formed by looking at several other studies that focused on these more specific aspects of beliefs and attempted to bring them together to present an overall picture of how that person understood the world around them. Examples of this are studies that looked at specifically how levels of collectivist attitudes influence behaviour like that of Hui and Yee (1994) or the study by Donnelly (1992), where they found that there were different attitudes towards locus of control between certain Asian cultures.

Groups of the WAI

The WAI developed by Koltko-Rivera (2004) is divided into a number of groups of assessments, each of which deals with a specific sub domain of the individual's worldview. When constructing the WAI Koltko-Rivera (2004) grouped previous studies and measures into categories which he believed were independent of each other. Taken together an individual's results on the WAI become a map of his/her overall worldview.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) believed that it was important to map a person's worldview using these broad topics in order to gain a more complete picture of what was influencing his/her behaviours. He argued that by only focusing on only some attributes of worldview researchers may miss vital information when studying individuals (e.g., a person's spirituality may play a large role in the way they treat a certain event). These topics potentially create more attitudes in individuals that can be measured and compared to others. The various groups of the WAI are listed as follows;

The Human Nature Group

This group looks at the perceived essence of human behaviour and is divided into moral orientation (Are humans good or evil?), mutability (Is human nature changeable or permanent?) and complexity (Is human nature complex or simple?). These measures may cause certain ideas about others to be formed before taking time to understand fully their motivations. Also measures such as moral orientation may change the perception of another's behaviour to mean something more negative.

The Will Group

The Will group covers determinism, free-will, the roots of behaviour and perceptions purpose. It

includes; Agency (Do we have free will or are our actions determined for us?), Determining factors (Are our behaviours determined by our biology or are we a product of our environment?) and the Intrapsychic dimension (Is behaviour chosen by us rationally or are its roots in the unconscious?).

The Cognition Group

Dealing with beliefs about the mind and how we think, this group includes Knowledge (How reliable are sources of information such as; Authority, tradition, senses, rationality, science, intuition, divination, revelation?) and Consciousness (Is the highest state of consciousness within the context of the ego or does it transcend the ego?).

The Behaviour Group

This group deals with guidelines and the focus of an individual's behaviour. The dimensions of this group are; Time Orientation (Does the individual focus mainly on past present or future?), Activity Direction (Is the focus of the individual's behaviour inward or outward?), Activity Satisfaction (Should the proper aim of behaviour focus on improvement and change or on enjoying the present?), Moral Source (Do moral guidelines come from humans or a transcendent source?). Moral Standard (Are moral guidelines absolute or are they dependent on context?), Moral Relevance (Are society's morals relevant or irrelevant?), Control Location (Are outcomes in life determined by our actions, personality, luck , chance, fate, society or divinity?), Control Disposition (Do societal determinants favour or work against the individual?) and Action Efficacy (Is the best method for bringing about change direct action, through spirituality or are we unable to change the world around us?).

The Interpersonal Group

The group includes beliefs about the nature of relationships with others and groups. The dimensions are; Otherness (Are the beliefs of others that do not match our own tolerable?), Relation to Authority (Is it best to have a formal structure of authority or should it be more egalitarian?), Relation to Group (Is the agenda of the individual (Individualism) more important than that of the group (Collectivism)?), Relation to Humanity (Are the rights of my group superior, the same or inferior to other's groups?), Relation to Biosphere (Are the rights of humans superior to those of other species?), Sexuality (Is the primary focus of sexual activity procreation, pleasure, spiritual or relationships?), Connection (Am I dependant, independent or interdependent on my social groups?), Interpersonal Justice (Are the outcomes within the groups I belong to just?), Socio-political Justice (Are the actions of social and political collectives just?), Interaction (Should we compete, cooperate or disengage with those around us?) and Correction (Should those who break societal standards be punished or rehabilitated?).

The Truth Group

This group relates to how people see the “truth” about the world around them. Its dimensions include; Scope (Is the “truth” valid at all times?), Possession (How accurate is the account of a person's reference of the universe?) and Availability (Is this valid approach exclusively held by a person's reference groups or do other groups have it too?).

The World and Life Group

This focuses on how the individual sees life, reality and the universe around them. This group consists of; Ontology (Is the nature of the universe material or spirituality?), Cosmos (Was the creation of the universe planned or random?), Unity (Is there a single reality or several conflicting ones?), Deity (What

is the nature of deities? Is/Are there a God/Gods/Goddesses?), Nature-Consciousness (Is there a consciousness within natural phenomena?), Humanity-Nature (What is our relationship with the natural world?), World Justice (Is the world just?), Well-Being (What path is ideal for one's health and safety? Logic or transcendent sources?), Explanation (Can world events be explained through category membership, cause-and-effect chains. Organic process or in terms of context?), Worth of Life (Is life worthwhile or are we headed for deterioration?) and Purpose of Life (Is there purpose and what form does it take?)

Application of the WAI to research

Several of the groups in the WAI are applicable to cross cultural research. The interpersonal group of dimensions in the WAI is a measure of individualism/ collectivism (Koltko-Rivera, 2000). This dimension places the participant on a continuum from thinking and acting in terms of good to their group, to thinking and acting more for their own benefit. Also in this collection of dimensions is a 'relation to group' scale looking at the strength of the group's priority in the participant's life and a relation to species measure. This 'relation to species' scale was identified by Koltko-Rivera (2000) as being an important indicator of ethnocentrism. The 'relation to species' scale measured how the individual rated the rights of their cultural group against the rights of other groups to be able to access resources and to be valid.

Having this map of an individual's worldview should therefore give a very broad image of the different dimensions of their beliefs and understandings (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). With such a complex map laid out it may be easier to identify points of interest between the attitudes of an individual and how they react to the behaviour of others. For example, an individual who has a higher level of agency may find

it easier to identify with a second person who is demonstrating a sense of agency in their actions. The main question, however, is whether this map can be used in research to act as a measuring tool for human behaviour.

It can be seen that Hui (1984) and Koltko-Rivera (2000) give two alternate perspectives on the study of individual worldviews. These perspectives rely on different attributes being focused on in order to understand human behaviour. They provide an interesting contrast in ways in which one can gain baseline information on individuals when comparing their behaviour. The WAI draws from a larger range of data, while Hui (1984) focuses on analysing levels of individualist and collectivism based on what contexts in which the individual finds himself or herself.

For studies between cultural groups it has been convenient to use quite generalised groupings and often categorise individuals from several national groups together under broad labels of collectivist or individualist. Although Hofstede (1980) stated that there is evidence to support comparisons between these large groups, there is also research to show that cultural groups are not static and may change in different directions which may interfere with the validity of large scale grouping (Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). This is one reason why tests such as the WAI and that of Hui (1984) may be very useful as individuals scores can be used not only to help predict behaviour but also to be compared with others scores to test the validity of national or cultural groupings.

The current study also looks at Hui's (1984) Individualism/Collectivism scale as well as Koltko-Rivera's WAI scale. Not only were these studies used along side each other, but also they were compared based on how useful they were in identifying differences and similarities in attitudes between

individuals. Although the concept of using an all inclusive test like the WAI may seem intuitively to make sense, it needed to be compared to a more specific test like Hui's (1984) in order to see if the increase in complexity was justified.

WAI and INDCOL

Although both the WAI and INDCOL scale seek to measure various attitudes and worldviews that influence behaviour, each has a different range of focus. The INDCOL scale (Hui, 1984), looks at differences in collectivist and individualist attitudes as a result of cultural influence. The WAI (Koltko-Rivera, 2004), however, focuses more broadly on a number of elements of worldview and attempts to bring them together as a type of map for charting an individuals worldview. Although differences in the type of culture an individual comes from have been shown in studies to influence behaviour (Hui & Triandis, 1986), comparison between these two models will clarify to an extent how much influence the type of culture has and how much is due to individual differences in other elements of worldview. This comparison may have ramifications for how cross cultural comparisons are measured. For example, it may be better to see national and cultural groups as more heterogeneous and hence pay greater attention to internal differences within these groups.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) believed that worldviews were so complex that only focusing on one dimension of belief was not enough to fully explain why people thought and acted the way they did. Part of the challenge for Koltko-Rivera (2004) was how to bring together several studies looking at different dimensions of worldview in a way that was testable and useful as a predictive tool. The current study will look at how this integrated model compares with a more narrowly focused scale. According to Koltko-Rivera (2004) the WAI may be able to explain more fully differences between individuals by

highlighting other dimensions of worldview that may be ignored by more specific studies.

In order to better investigate how individual's worldviews affect the way they perceive and relate to others it is important to compare these measurement tests to find which would be most suitable for the task. In New Zealand, for example, it may be more difficult to compare individuals based only on one factor (e.g., individualism/collectivism), as the population may be more heterogeneous than other nations where multiculturalism is not the norm. Ward and Masgoret (2008) found, for example, that New Zealanders tended to have more positive attitudes towards those from other cultures and a stronger endorsement for multiculturalism than those in Europe and Australia.

The scales of the WAI and INDCOL are both not constant in terms of the range of scores. For example, one measure may produce generally negative scores, where another may produce generally high positive scores. For this reason the measures cannot be compared directly for relative strengths in a certain area. As a result the study used a series of statistical tests to analyse relationships between the scores of the WAI and INDCOL scales.

The Current Study

The current study focuses on these variations in worldviews between cultures in order to compare how effective in predicting types of behaviours the two scales are. Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) compared decision making between Japanese collectivists and individualists from the United States. In order to do so they presented groups from each of the cultures with asymmetrical social dilemmas. These dilemmas included scenarios where cooperation would be beneficial in creating a favourable outcome. The present study also makes use of a similar scenario

paradigm to test the manner in which individuals' attitudes, or worldviews, correspond to self-perceptions of their behaviour (Appendix A).

One of the important issues in New Zealand society is what happens when cultures come together. The current study therefore looked at how these cultural worldviews influence tolerance in New Zealand residents. Similar to the Wade-Benzoni et al. (2002) study the individuals were asked to predict their anticipated behaviours in various situations typically encountered in New Zealand society. These behaviours were based on previous studies of collectivist cultures either to match with a collectivist worldview or to be dissimilar to it.

Acceptance and Empathy

It is not enough that individuals understand the attitudes and worldviews of one another. They must also display a certain degree of acceptance and empathy toward each other in order to achieve a degree of tolerance between various groups. According to Kim, Ng and Ahn (2005) when individuals encounter or deal with others who show similar attitudes they are more likely to be empathetic towards them. Stephen and Finlay (1999) suggest empathy appears to be an important factor in how well different groups get along.

Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg (1997) suggested that empathy may be a result of "self-other" merging, or the degree in which an individual integrated another person into their sense of self. Empathetic feelings towards another would rely on the about of themselves a person could see in them. In their research, they found that as participants' sense of closeness increased their level of empathetic concern for the other individual also increased. Cialdini et al. (1997) believed that this closeness

allowed the observer to integrate more easily the other individual into their sense of self and hence be more concerned with their well-being. This may be important in understanding why groups that are distanced or socially isolated from each other may have less opportunity to gain this closeness and hence would be less likely to be concerned for each others well-being.

Another study, which looked at this same issue, studied high and low empathy conditions with individuals who were either similar or different from the participant (Batson, Sager, Garst, Kang, Rubchinsky & Dawson, 1997). They found no self-merging indicators, only relationship between empathy and helping cognitions. This seemed to challenge Cialdini, et al.'s (1997) finding, and suggested to Batson et al. that their participants were not feeling empathy for the subject. Neuberg, Cialdini, Brown, Luce, Sagarin and Lewis (1997) stated, however, that in the original study participants were not asked to speculate how they might feel, but on how they were actually feeling at the time. These self-reported feelings were significantly related with helping behaviours. They also suggested that empathetic feeling may only lead to superficial helping and that more costly forms of help may rely on feelings of oneness.

In addition to using scenarios to describe various patterns of behaviour, this study will also measure self-reported empathy but also feelings of self-other merging in order gauge how likely such feelings are to translate into assumed behaviours. This is not only to confirm the relationship between self-other merging but to gain an idea if they participants are more superficially concerned with others in the study, or there is a chance they would be genuinely helpful or pro-social towards others.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis draws from Hui and Trianis' (1986) assertion that there would be a significant amount of variation between different collectivist cultures in their INDCOL scale results. In order to study this participants were sorted into different groups. These groupings involved them being placed as individualists/collectivists, by nationality and based on their scores on the INDCOL scale. It would be expected from the research of Hui and Trianis (1986) that different national groups which have been recognised as collectivist in nature, will show subtle variations in context specific collectivism as measured by the INDCOL scale.

The second hypothesis drew from Koltko-Rivera's (2004) integrating model of worldview which suggested that the individual's culture of origin is only a partial influence on an individual's attitudes. It was expected then that other factors in the WAI would play a significant role in how willing individuals are to be accepting of one and other. This would be identified by measures of the WAI relating to acceptance of others and hence giving a more complete picture why the individual can relate to another person, rather than only focusing on levels of collectivism. Koltko-Rivera (2004), however, cautioned that the WAI is complex and hence may be harder to integrate into research than more specific tests, such as the INDCOL.

The third hypothesis was based on Cialdini et al.'s (1997) theory of self-other merging. Where meaningful empathy, which is more likely to translate to positive behaviours, relates to how much the observer accepts another person as being part of them. It was expected according to this theory that participants who rate highly in this particular measure of the INDCOL or WAI would be more likely to empathise with scenario characters who demonstrate attitudes similar to their own.

Additional points of study

Further, the study included a self measure for perceived tolerance of the participant and his/her family to other cultures and attitudes. It may be expected that individuals who perceive themselves to be more tolerant of other cultures and worldviews would be more likely to react positively to those with different worldviews. This measure was included to see how a generally accepting attitude of difference may be a factor in how individuals react to those from different groups.

Tolerance/Acceptance measures

When measuring tolerance I needed to take into account the various levels of acceptance mentioned in the literature. If, as Cialdini et al. (1997) suggest, there is doubt whether just showing empathy can lead to anything more than superficial helping cognitions I needed to look at a range of responses which could be related to tolerant behaviours. Therefore, the measure tested for a range of tolerance levels; acceptance of one's values, feelings of sympathy, feelings of empathy and self other merging.

The first question following each scenario related to feelings of sympathy, such as asking the participant if they hoped the actor would be successful in their course of action. In order to test for empathy in the scenarios a point of view were given to participants which were opposite or in contrast to the current attitude or behaviour of the actor in the scenario. In question two participants were then asked how much they agreed on the opposing point of view and the scores were reverse ranked.

Another reason why I did this was as a contrast to the other measures on self-other merging, sympathy and value for opinion which were all positively worded. The third question asked the participant if the actor was doing the right thing for himself/herself. This question was designed to measure acceptance

of the actor's attitude without the participant having to judge if it was an attitude which they personally agreed with or that might apply to themselves. The fourth question asked the participant if he/she saw the actor as being similar to himself/herself. This question was designed to test for any self-other merging which may have been present. The final question asked the participant if they felt that the actor's behaviour/attitude was a result of a New Zealand upbringing. The purpose of this question was to measure how much the participants felt the actor's behaviour was influenced by living in a New Zealand context.

Method

Participants

The participants for this study included 42 university and polytech students. The group included; 22 New Zealanders (8 male, 14 female, mean age 21.7 years), 8 Chinese (2 male, 6 female, mean age 24.5), 4 Indonesian (4 males, mean age 21.8) and 3 Korean (3 males, mean age 24.0), as well as one participant from another traditionally individualist country (female) and 4 from other traditionally collectivist countries (2 males, 2 females, mean age 29.3). When the participants were divided into groups based on coming from traditionally collectivist and individualist nations the groups were 23 individualist (8 males, 15 females, mean age 22.6) and 19 Collectivist (11 male, 8 female, mean age 24.7)

Materials

As the WAI is a key part of the study the invitation to participate (Appendix B), the instruction sheet (Appendix C) as well as the history survey (Appendix D) was modelled on Koltko-Rivera's (2000) original versions to assist with consistency. These forms also included the instructions for Hui's (1984) INDCOL survey. Taking the two tests side by side, not only is there a broader picture of the participants' worldview, but also comparisons can be made to see how well the WAI caters for individuals who hail from different cultural backgrounds.

The WAI designed by Koltko-Rivera (2000) was part of the package given to participants. The test consisted of 59 statements that participants respond to on a Likert scale. The WAI consists of six scales; metaphysics, locus of control, agency, relation to group, relationship to authority and mutability. The

INDCOL scale by Hui and Yee (1994) followed the WAI in the pack. Although the main focus of the study was to compare these two scales, four self rating scales were also included. These self rating scales required the participants to indicate how tolerant of other attitudes and culture both they and their families are on a Likert scale. This measure was included to test if a generally tolerant attitude was also a variable in how accepting participants were of others.

The second part of the study contained scenarios that involved New Zealanders trying to resolve life issues. As mentioned previously, the issues and thinking reflected differences found in cross cultural studies of individualist and collectivist cultures to be either similar to or different from these cultures' norms. These include Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman's (2002) findings that people from collectivist cultures expect others to be cooperative and were likely to allocate equally when having to share resources. The concern for social status and not losing face seen by Nagayama-Hall, Sue, Narang and Lilly (2000), where challenges to honour and public scrutiny were found to be important to the emotional state of individuals from collectivist cultures. The way in which Mesquita (2001) found that emotional responses in collectivist cultures tended to focus on levels of social worth, reality (the big picture) and self-other relations (how their behaviours effect others) rather than being mainly focused on the inner world of the self. For individuals in individualist cultures emotional responses derived from how they believed events affected them personally.

Scenarios

The scenarios for this study (Appendix A) were constructed using data from previous cross cultural research. Unlike the scenarios in the Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) study these scenarios were designed to portray individuals demonstration varying

degrees of individualist and collectivist behaviour.

The first scenario deals with voluntary social group with the actor demonstrating a high level of collectivism within that context. The scenario is based on Hui and Yee's (1994) dimension of the INDCOL scale called Ingroup solidarity (IS). This relates to the level of collectivist attitude an individual has towards the ingroup they have chosen to be part of, as opposed to one they are obliged to be part of. Also, this would come under the Kin/Neighbour subscale. Also the solution reflects the preferred problems solving strategy of collectivist participants in the Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) study, in which they preferred cooperation and equal division of resources. From the WAI one may expect the actor to score highly on the Relation to Group dimension.

The second scenario focuses on the priority of individual goals and the need for self actualization over family obligation. The scenario is based on Hui and Yee's (1994) concept of Social Obligation where the actor is placing less importance on obliged relationships and more in the fulfilment of personal goals, this would also be reflected in the Parent/Spouse (PS) score. Other scores that may be relevant to this scenario would be Mutability and Agency dimensions of the WAI.

The third scenario also focuses on IS and SO, with the actor placing more importance on their chosen ingroup than their family unit, hence one would expect a higher IS score than SO. Under the WAI this may be reflected in the Relation to Group dimension (Koltko-Rivera, 2004)

The fourth scenario is based on the increasing amount of time individuals are isolating themselves from

family groups using video games, the actors behaviour seems to place his own desire for pleasure over the needs of his girlfriend. One may expect that those with lower IS scores may feel less closeness to the actor, as he seems to be less interested in maintaining the relationship with his in group member. One could also, however, see the online community with which the actor is relating as another in-group. For this reason less emphasis was placed on the details of who the actor is relating with on line and more on who he is not relating to in his immediate environment.

Scenario five was based on Hui and Triandis' (1986) assertion that those from collectivist societies are often more focused on the need for face-saving than those from individualist societies. This could also be relevant to those participants with a high social obligation score. The actor also demonstrates a tendency towards vertical collectivism, valuing the opinion of his elders. Therefore participants with higher PA dimension scores and SO scores may be expected to be more positive towards this actor.

The sixth scenario involves face saving and maintaining harmony, also trying to hide conflict and disunity to those outside. The actor, however, avoids sharing his problem with his family indicating he may be reluctant to use them as a support base. Face saving was seen by Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) as being important in collectivist groups, however in this instance the actor distances himself from his immediate family in order to do this. The actor may also be seen as reflecting a high score of Locus of Control. It could be argued, however, that he would reflect a low PS score as he is very concerned with how his family would react to his situation.

The seventh scenario was based on an actor demonstrating high ingroup solidarity (Hui & Yee, 1994).

The actor also may reflect a low Agency score and a higher KN score, so participants who also share

these attitudes may find it easier to empathies with him.

Scenario eight was based on Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman's (2002) study in which they found that individuals from collectivist cultures tended to prefer solutions to group dilemmas which involved maintaining harmony. The actor in the scenario focuses on maintaining harmony and has a strong sense of duty to her fellow workmates. One would expect participants a high score of social obligation to relate more closely with her (Hui & Yee, 1994). The actor's behaviour may also be reflected in a high Relation to Authority score (the business owner being seen as someone worth respecting), a higher Mutability score and a higher CF score.

The ninth scenario was also based on Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman's (2002) study, however this time the perspective was from a business owner's point of view. The actor demonstrates a high level of SO, as she seems set on maintaining harmony in his workplace rather than seeking personal benefit from focusing on his most productive worker. The actor's behaviour may also be reflected in a high score of Locus of Control and CF, however PS may be negatively related to this actor.

The tenth scenario relates strongly to Hui & Yee's (1994) SO scale, with the actor demonstrating a model relation towards his family members. One would also expect higher scores for Relationship to Group, KN, PA and possibly a lower PS score would be related to the actor in this scenario.

Participants were issued with the invitation to participate (Appendix B), the personal detail survey (Appendix D), the WAI (Appendix E), the INDCOL survey (Appendix F) as well as the scenarios (Appendix A). Participants were allowed to take the tests and surveys away with them to be completed

in their own time. Data looking at world view types, levels of perceived attitude similarity and biographical data that may effect worldview development will be collected from the questionnaires. In order to obtain sufficient numbers a small financial incentive was given in the form of vouchers. The WAI will be assessed using the assessment key provided by Koltko–Rivera (2000) while the INDCOL survey will be assessed as described in Hui (1988).

Results

The participants' data were categorised into two groups based on the nature of the society in which they were reared. Table 1 presents the data participants reared in either individualistic and collectivist societies. These data were analysed with a series of independent groups *t*-tests.

Comparing the Self-Report, WAI, and INDCOL measures

Table 1 presents the mean scores of the Self-Report, INDCOL, and WAI assessments of the participants classified as coming from either an individualistic or collectivist society. Also presented in Table 1 are the results of a series of independent groups *t*-tests conducted to determine the nature of differences between the two groups of participants.

Preliminary analyses showed that participants from individualistic societies rated themselves more self tolerant of both other cultures and other attitudes than did members of collectivist societies data from two of the self-report measures. It should be noted that the data from these two measures were not normally distributed for either group. This finding was thought to result from the fact that most people consider themselves to be tolerant. The results of the analyses showed no differences evident between the two groups on the two remaining self-report measures (Tolerance of Family to Other Cultures and Tolerance of Family to Other Attitudes).

Table 1 also shows the participants' mean scores on the INDCOL and WAI measures. These data were also compared with a series of independent groups *t*-tests the results of which are also displayed in Table 1. This series of results showed that there were significant differences between the two groups on

the Parents/Spouse independence, Neighbour Isolation, and Ingroup Solidarity scales of the INDCOL measure. These results showed that those reared in a collectivist society considered themselves to have significantly lower attitudes on these three scales than did the participants who came from an individualistic society.

Analyses of the participants' results on the WAI scale, which were also compared with a series of independent groups *t*-tests, showed only a marginally significant result between the groups from individualist and collective societies on the Agency subscale.

The data sets of the participants from both individualistic and collectivist societies were each analysed with a series of correlation analyses the results of which are presented in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. Analyses of these results show that the pattern of relations between all measures of perceived self and family tolerance to be significantly correlated for both groups.

The nature of the pattern of correlations for perceived tolerance is, however, quite different for the individualistic and collectivist groups of participants. The correlations for the participants from individualistic societies between perceived self tolerance to other attitudes and social obligation, isolation from neighbours, and relationship to groups all show significant positive relationships. This was taken to indicate that individuals from individualistic societies who considered themselves tolerant of other attitudes also feel an obligation to groups with whom they may be expected to be interdependent (such as close family), as well as displaying a sense of solidarity with that group. The same does not seem to be true of the individualistic group's relationship with their neighbours where they tend to feel more isolated from those around them.

In contrast, those individuals from collectivist societies showed patterns of positive correlations between perceived self tolerance of other attitudes and both the agency and metaphysics subscales of the WAI. Additionally, there was a negative correlation between perceived self tolerance of other attitudes and the relation to authority WAI subscale. Taken together these suggest that those from collectivist societies who have low perceived levels of self tolerance for other attitudes also have a low degree of spirituality in their lives, a low belief in their ability to change their lives, and a high relationship to authority.

A second difference in correlation patterns emerged in the participants' scores on the ingroup solidarity measure. For participants reared in an individualistic society ingroup solidarity was found to be correlated with both the co-workers and friends and the relationship to authority scales. This was taken to indicate that those from individualistic societies seemed to have higher feelings to have higher feelings of bonding with both their co-workers and those in authority over them. In contrast, those from collectivist societies showed a significant correlation only between ingroup solidarity and mutability suggesting that those with lower feelings in their ability to change their situation showed little sense of bonding with the members of their chosen social groups.

Further, analyses of the correlation patterns of the participants' mutability scores also revealed significant correlations between mutability and the scores of participants from collectivist societies on both the parental influence (PA) subscale and the parents/spouse independence (PS) subscale measures on the INDCOL. This was again taken to indicate that those that felt reluctant to seek advice/assistance from their parents felt there was little chance of changing their situation in life. Participants who perceived they were distinct from their parents and/or spouse, however, felt that their situation was

more changeable. There were no significant correlations between the individualistic participants mutability scores and any other measure.

Lastly, there was also a difference between patterns of association between age and the scores of the two groups of participants. Both groups of participants showed a significant correlation between age and locus of control indicating that as their chronological age increased the participants felt more in charge of their lives. Further, participants from individualistic societies showed a significant correlation between age and both parental influence and perceived family tolerance indicating that as they grew older they became more amenable to the influence of their parents and that they also perceived their family of origin as being more tolerant. No significant correlations were found between the scores of the participants from collectivist societies on these measures and their age.

Scenario analysis

In order to assess the nature of the patterns of association between perceived self-tolerance and other variables it was decided to make a case-by-case analysis of the participants' reactions to the various situations portrayed in the scenarios. A series of independent sample *t*-tests were conducted between scores of the individualistic and collectivistic groups on each of the self-report measures for each scenario.

Scenario 1

Analysis between individualist and collectivist participants revealed a significant difference between empathy scores (means = 4.4 and 3.4, respectively, $t(41) = 2.91, p < .05$) for the first scenario. Also, there was a difference between individualist and collectivist participants scores for self-other merging

(means = 4.4 and 3.7, respectively, $t(41) = 2.37, p < 0.05$). In addition individualistic and collectivistic groups also varied in their New Zealand labelling scores (means = 3.9 and 2.9, respectively, $t(41) = 2.58, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 2

Analysis of Scenario 2 responses showed individualistic participants' empathy scores differed significantly from those reared in collectivistic societies (means = 2.8 and 2.0, respectively, $t(41) = 2.14$). Further, participants from individualistic societies showed significantly lower New Zealand labelling scores than did participants from collectivist countries (means = 2.9 and 3.5, respectively, $t(41) = -2.07, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 3

No significant differences were noted between the score of two groups for Scenario 3.

Scenario 4

Analysis showed that participants from individualist cultures reported significantly lower ratings of sympathy than did those from collectivist societies (means = 1.9 and 2.7, respectively, $t(41) = -2.17, p < 0.05$). Similarly, participants from individualistic cultures showed lower New Zealand labelling scores than did those from collectivist cultures, (means = 3.2 and 2.4, respectively, $t(41) = -3.34, p < 0.05$). The individualistic group of participants also showed significantly lower scores on their self-other merging rating than did individuals from collectivist societies, (means = 1.6 and 2.5, respectively, $t(41) = -2.53, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 5

A significant difference was noted between the New Zealand labelling scores of participants from individualist and collectivist societies (means = 3.7 and 3.0, respectively, $t(41) = 2.58, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 6

The independent sample t -test between individualist and collectivist groups of participants found significant variation between the groups in their responses. Participants from individualist cultures varied significantly from to from collectivist cultures on their assessments of self-other merging (means = 2.6 and 3.5, respectively, $t(41) = -2.53, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 7

There was a significant difference between participants from individualist cultures and those from collectivist cultures on their assessment of New Zealand labelling, (means = 4.2 and 3.5, respectively, $t(41) = 2.73, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 8

Analyses of the participants' scores for the New Zealand labelling showed a significant difference in those from individualistic cultures and those from collectivist cultures (means = 3.5 and 2.6, respectively, $t(41) = 3.15, p < 0.05$).

Scenario 9

No significant differences were noted between the score of the two groups for Scenario 9.

Scenario 10

A significant difference was found between the empathy scores of those from individualistic societies and those from collectivist societies, (means = 2.2 and 2.9, respectively, $t(41) = -2.35$, $p < 0.05$).

Comparisons of national groups

Participants were also analysed based on their nationality in order to explore national variations between members of the individualist and collectivist groups.

New Zealand and Chinese participants

Between New Zealand ($M = 43.7$) and Chinese ($M = 34.0$) participants, a significant difference was seen between agency, $t(28) = 3.67$, $p < 0.05$ (As shown in Table 4).

Chinese and Indonesian participants

There was also a difference in agency scores between Chinese students ($M = 34.0$) and Indonesian students ($M = 48.3$), $t(10) = -4.02$, $p < 0.05$.

Chinese and Korean

No differences were noted between these two groups.

These results were taken to mean that there may be some subtle differences between the national groups and that this highlighted that the individualist and collectivist groups were not homogeneous.

Comparing the WAI and INDCOL measures

The WAI and INDCOL scores were also compared in order to see how they were related. This was done to see if any of the measures may be focusing on the same values or attitudes and also to determine if attitudes assessed by the different scales were related.

A correlation was found between the Co-worker/Friend (CF) dimension and the ingroup solidarity Dimension, $r(40) = .68, p < 0.05$. There was a negative correlation between locus of control and parental influence (PA), $r(39) = -.45, p < 0.05$. PA, however, was positively correlated with Ingroup solidarity, $r(39) = .65, p < 0.05$. Kin-neighbour influence (KN) was positively correlated with both relation to group, $r(39) = .45, p < 0.05$ and strongly with social obligation, $r(39) = .83, p < 0.05$. The neighbour isolation (NE) dimension was also strongly positively correlated with social obligation, $r(40) = .85, p < 0.05$. Also, there was a positive correlation between relation to group and social obligation, $r(39) = .46, p < 0.05$.

There were also weaker positive correlations measured between parental influence and mutability, $r(39) = .38, p < 0.05$. As well as with neighbour isolation and both agency, $r(39) = .39, p < 0.05$ and relation to group, $r(39) = .31, p < 0.05$.

There were also a number of correlations found within the measures. Parental influence was positively correlated with distinctiveness from parent/spouse, $r(40) = .52, p < 0.05$, and neighbour isolation was

positively correlated with kin/neighbour influence, $r(40) = .41, p < 0.05$. For the WAI there was a weaker negative correlation between agency and relation to authority, $r(39) = -.31, p < 0.05$.

Scenario analysis based on individual scores on the WAI and INDCOL scales

The data were analysed based on individual scores to the measures that were used. This was done to examine how these scores compared in terms of identifying specific trends in acceptance of the actions displayed in the scenarios.

Scenario 1

Correlational analysis showed significant relationships between a number of scores. Neighbour isolation (NE) was negatively correlated with Empathy, $r(40) = -.37, p < 0.05$, but it was positively related with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .56, p < 0.05$. Mutability was positively correlated with Sympathy scores, $r(39) = .32, p < 0.05$. Agency was negatively correlated with Empathy, $r(39) = -.47, p < 0.05$, yet it was positively correlated with self-other merging, $r(39) = .42, p < 0.05$. Relationship to group was also positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(39) = .32, p < 0.05$. Social obligation too was positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .52, p < 0.05$.

Participants who saw others as changeable were more sympathetic towards the actor. Those with high agency scores, however, tended to not be empathetic with the actor although they were more likely to show self-other merging.

Pearson's correlations were also carried out between the scenario responses. Empathy was negatively correlated with both value for opinion, $r(40) = -.33, p < 0.05$ and sympathy, $r(40) = -.34, p < 0.05$. Self-

other merging was also negatively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = -.64$, $p < 0.05$, but was positively correlated with both value for opinion, $r(40) = .50$, $p < 0.05$ and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .35$, $p < 0.05$.

The results seemed to indicate that those were empathetic towards the actor were more likely to accept his behaviour and feel sympathy for him, they were less likely, however, to see the actor as being like themselves. Those who did see the actor as being like themselves tended to label his behaviour as being a result of New Zealand society.

Scenario 2

Pearson's correlations found a number of relationships between the responses to the scenario and to scores from the WAI and INDCOL scales. Parental influence appeared to be negatively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = -.39$, $p < 0.05$. Distinctiveness from parents/spouse (PS) was found to be moderately correlated with both sympathy, $r(40) = .34$, $p < 0.05$ and value for opinion, $r(40) = .38$, $p < 0.05$. There was a negative correlation between social obligation and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = -.31$, $p < 0.05$. Value for opinion scores were found to be positively correlated with sympathy, $r(40) = .51$, $p < 0.05$, also they had a positive correlation with empathy, $r(40) = .32$, $p < 0.05$.

Those who placed a lower priority on seeking advice from their parents tended to be more empathetic, whereas those who saw themselves as more distinct from their parents tended to be more sympathetic with the actor and have more value for the actor's opinion. Individuals who had a higher acceptance of the actor's opinion also tended to be more sympathetic and empathetic.

Scenario 3

Pearson's correlations showed that empathy had a moderate negative correlation with parental influence, $r(40) = -.36, p < 0.05$ and a positive correlation with kin/neighbour influence, $r(40) = .33, p < 0.05$. There was also a positive correlation between neighbour isolation and value for opinion, $r(40) = .35, p < 0.05$. Relation to authority was correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(39) = -.31, p < 0.05$. Social obligation had a positive correlation with empathy, $r(40) = .33, p < 0.05$, and it had a positive correlation with value for opinion, $r(40) = .35, p < 0.05$.

Sympathy ($M=3.21, SD=1.09$) was positively correlated with self-other merging ($M = 3.17, SD = 1.23$), $r(40) = .64, p < 0.05$ and less so with value for opinion ($M = 3.48, SD = 1.09$), $r(40) = .36, p < 0.05$, and it was positively correlated with empathy ($M = 2.29, SD = .94$), $r(40) = .64, p < 0.05$. There was also a positive correlation between empathy ($M = 2.29, SD = .94$) and self-other merging ($M = 3.17, SD = 1.23$), $r(40) = .38, p < 0.05$.

This was taken to mean that individuals who were more likely to seek advice from their parents were less likely to be empathetic with the actor, but those who were more likely to be influenced by others around them were more empathetic. Those who placed a higher priority on social obligation also tended to be empathetic with the actor and showed more value for their opinion.

Scenario 4

Pearson's correlations were also carried out on the Scenario 4 answers. Self-other merging was found to be negatively correlated with parental influence, $r(40) = -.47, p < 0.05$ and with parent/spouse

distinction, $r(40) = -.48, p < 0.05$. Parent/spouse distinction also had moderate negative correlations with sympathy, $r(40) = -.39, p < 0.05$ and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = -.34, p < 0.05$. Neighbour isolation was found to be negatively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = -.39, p < 0.05$.

Self-other merging was moderately negatively correlated with two of the WAI scales, agency, $r(39) = -.40, p < 0.05$ and with mutability, $r(39) = -.31, p < 0.05$. Agency was also negatively correlated slightly with empathy, $r(39) = -.34, p < 0.05$.

Ingroup solidarity was correlated negatively with self-other merging, $r(40) = -.43, p < 0.05$ and to a lesser extent with both; New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = -.32, p < 0.05$ and sympathy, $r(40) = -.32, p < 0.05$. There was also a mild negative correlation between social obligation, $r(40) = -.37, p < 0.05$.

Within the scenario data sympathy was positively correlated with self-other merging, $r(40) = .49, p < 0.05$ and slightly with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .32, p < 0.05$. There was also a moderate correlation between New Zealand labelling and self-other merging, $r(40) = .35, p < 0.05$.

This was taken to mean that those who were less likely to seek advice from their parents were more likely to see the actor as being like themselves, however, those who saw themselves as being less distinct from their parents or spouses were also more likely to see the actor as being similar to themselves. Those who saw others as changeable and those who felt they had more control of their lives were less likely to see the actor as being like themselves. Participants who thought the actor's behaviour was due to New Zealand society were also more likely to see the actor as being like themselves.

Scenario 5

Pearson's correlations discovered a negative correlation between empathy and kin/neighbour influence, $r(40) = -.31$, $p < 0.05$ and a moderate positive correlation between empathy and distinctiveness from parent/spouse, $r(40) = .31$, $p < 0.05$. There were also positive moderate correlations between New Zealand labelling and both kin/neighbour influence, $r(40) = .39$, $p < 0.05$ and neighbour isolation, $r(40) = .37$, $p < 0.05$. Value for opinion had a slight negative correlation with kin/neighbour influence, $r(40) = -.34$, $p < 0.05$.

There was one moderately positive correlation between the scenario data and the WAI, a link between relation to group and New Zealand labelling, $r(39) = .37$, $p < 0.05$. Social obligation was positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .45$, $p < 0.05$ and negatively with empathy, $r(40) = -.36$, $p < 0.05$, as well as being negatively correlated with value for opinion, $r(40) = -.33$, $p < 0.05$. Also there was a slight negative correlation between sympathy and ingroup solidarity, $r(40) = .34$, $p < 0.05$.

Within the scenario data there was a positive correlation between sympathy and self-other merging, $r(40) = .63$, $p < 0.05$ and a more slight one with value for opinion, $r(40) = .39$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a positive correlation between self-other merging and value for opinion, $r(40) = .43$, $p < 0.05$, and a slightly weaker negative one between empathy and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = -.31$, $p < 0.05$.

The results seemed to suggest that those who were more influenced by kin and neighbours or felt they were distinct from their parents were more empathetic towards the actor. Those who recorded higher scores in social obligation were less likely to value the actor's opinion or feel empathetic, but they were

more likely to rate their behaviour as being typical of New Zealand.

Scenario 6

As with the other scenarios Pearson's tests for correlation were used. There were few correlations between the responses of the two scales and those from the scenarios. Relationship to group was moderately negatively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = -.33$, $p < 0.05$ and positively with agency and had a mildly negative correlation with self-other merging, $r(40) = -.39$, $p < 0.05$.

Sympathy was positively correlated with self-other merging, $r(40) = .53$, $p < 0.05$, and was moderately correlated with both value for opinion, $r(40) = .36$, $p < 0.05$ and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$. In addition it was also mildly positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .36$, $p < 0.05$.

Empathy was also positively correlated with both value for opinion, $r(40) = .47$, $p < 0.05$ and self-other merging, $r(40) = .45$, $p < 0.05$. New Zealand labelling was also positively correlated with value for opinion, $r(40) = .44$, $p < 0.05$ and with self-other merging, $r(40) = .42$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a moderate positive correlation between self-other merging and value for opinion, $r(40) = .34$, $p < 0.05$.

This was taken to mean that individuals who placed a lower importance on their relations within social groupings were more likely to see the actor as like themselves and feel empathy for them. Those who saw the actor as being like themselves were more likely to feel empathetic and/or sympathetic towards them. In addition those who saw the actor's behaviour as being a product of New Zealand society were also more likely to value the actor's opinion and see them as being like themselves.

Scenario 7

From the results of Pearson's correlations tests parental influence was negatively correlated with value for opinion, $r(40) = -.47$, $p < 0.05$ and had a mildly negative correlation with empathy, $r(40) = -.33$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a moderately positive correlation between kin/neighbour influence and self-other merging, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$ and a mildly negative one between the co-worker/friend dimension and sympathy, $r(40) = -.34$, $p < 0.05$. The only correlation with the WAI responses was a mildly negative one between agency and value for opinion, $r(39) = -.33$, $p < 0.05$. Empathy was also moderately negatively correlated with ingroup solidarity, $r(40) = -.34$, $p < 0.05$. For scenario responses there was a moderate positive correlation between sympathy and self-other merging, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$.

The results seemed to suggest that participants who placed a higher importance on the advice of their parents held less value for the opinion of the actor and were less likely to be empathetic towards them. Participants who were more influenced by those around them, however, saw the actor as being more like themselves. Participants whose scores suggested a higher level of interdependence on chosen ingroups were less likely to be empathetic towards the actor.

Scenario 8

Pearson's correlations revealed a negative correlation between parental influence and value for opinion, $r(40) = -.40$, $p < 0.05$ and a more moderate positive correlation between neighbour isolation and empathy, $r(40) = .32$, $p < 0.05$. There were also moderate positive correlations between co-worker/friend scores and self-other merging, $r(40) = .34$, $p < 0.05$ and between neighbour isolation and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .31$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a slightly negative correlation between

mutability and value for opinion, $r(39) = -.34$, $p < 0.05$ and a slightly positive correlation between relationship with authority and self-other merging, $r(39) = .31$, $p < 0.05$. Social obligation was moderately positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .32$, $p < 0.05$ and mildly positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .35$, $p < 0.05$.

Within the scenario responses empathy was positively correlated with value for opinion, $r(40) = .54$, $p < 0.05$ and to a lesser extent with self-other merging, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$. Sympathy had mild positive correlation with self-other merging, $r(40) = .36$, $p < 0.05$ and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .31$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a moderate positive correlation between value for opinion and self-other merging, $r(40) = .38$, $p < 0.05$.

This was taken to mean that participants who held their parent's advice in higher regards were less likely to value the opinion of the actor. Those who placed a higher value on their relationship with co-workers and friends, however, saw the actor as being more like themselves. Those with a higher sense of social obligation were more likely to be empathetic towards the actor and to classify their behaviour as being typical of New Zealand.

Scenario 9

The co-worker/friend dimension was positively correlated with sympathy, $r(40) = .49$, $p < 0.05$, and it was positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .49$, $p < 0.05$. The same dimension was also mildly positively correlated with both value for opinion, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$ and self-other merging, $r(40) = .36$, $p < 0.05$. There were also positive correlations between neighbour isolation and both sympathy, $r(40) = .42$, $p < 0.05$ and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .45$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a more

moderate positive correlation between kin/neighbour influence and New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .37$, $p < 0.05$. Agency had a moderate positive correlation with self-other merging, $r(39) = -.33$, $p < 0.05$ and a moderate negative correlation to New Zealand labelling, $r(39) = -.35$, $p < 0.05$. Relation to group was also moderately negatively correlated with empathy, $r(39) = .39$, $p < 0.05$. Social obligation was positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .49$, $p < 0.05$ and to a lesser extent with sympathy, $r(40) = .39$, $p < 0.05$.

Within the scenario sympathy was positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .42$, $p < 0.05$, and it was positively correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .49$, $p < 0.05$ and to a lesser extent with self-other merging, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$. Self-other merging was also positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .52$, $p < 0.05$, and positively correlated with value for opinion, $r(40) = .59$, $p < 0.05$. Value for opinion was also moderately correlated with New Zealand labelling, $r(40) = .33$, $p < 0.05$.

The results suggested that participants who reported a higher degree of interdependence with co-workers and friends were more likely to see the actor as being like themselves and feel empathy, sympathy and value for their opinion. Those with a higher degree of agency also saw the actor as being similar to themselves.

Scenario 10

A positive correlation was noted between locus of control and value for opinion, $r(39) = .41$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a moderate negative correlation between relation to authority and self-other merging, $r(39) = -.39$, $p < 0.05$.

Within the scenario responses sympathy was, again, positively correlated with empathy, $r(40) = .59$, $p < 0.05$, and it was positively correlated with self-other merging, $r(40) = .47$, $p < 0.05$ and to a more moderate degree value for opinion, $r(40) = .32$, $p < 0.05$. There was also a positive correlation between value for opinion and self-other merging, $r(40) = .46$, $p < 0.05$.

The results suggested that participants who felt that they had more control of their lives were more likely to value the actor's opinion. Those who felt more positively towards authority figures, however, felt less similarity between themselves and the actor.

Discussion

Participants seemed to generally rate both themselves and their families as being tolerant of different attitudes and cultures. There were differences, however, in the types of behaviours individuals were tolerant of in the scenarios. These differences existed not only based on what type of country they were from, but also based on the individual worldview attributes they held.

The results showed that when faced with an actor in a scenario demonstrating behaviour consistent with their own attitudes, participants tended to show either empathy, sympathy, self-other merging or a combination of these three. This was taken to mean that being able to identify similar attitudes in others may be a key factor in how positively people behave towards them. Empathy and sympathy were also often linked with self-other merging, although the results do not indicate in which order they occur. When differences between individualist and collectivist participants were analysed it seemed that although both groups saw themselves as tolerant of other attitudes and cultures, there were differences in the type of behaviours they were tolerant towards. While some differences were expected between the two groups, these differences did not always match what would be expected from previous individualism versus collectivism studies.

Individual scores in the various attitude measures seemed to be a better indicator of whether participants would respond positively to a person's actions, rather than national or cultural grouping. The scores of these measures often demonstrated instances where similarity between an individual's own attitudes and those of another were correlated with tolerance or acceptance. This suggests that a study of individual attitudes may present more meaningful data on why they react positively towards

others. There were, however, still some trends within these national groups and some indication of differences between national groups within the individualist and collectivist categories.

Correlations between the INDCOL and WAI scales bared mixed results. In the data, some correlations were found that made intuitive sense because they were measuring similar attitudes. For example, both interdependence on co-workers and kin was strongly related to ingroup solidarity. Ingroup solidarity was described by Hui and Yee (1994) as measuring the level of collectivism between the individual and their ingroup with whom they chose to associate. Similarly, the negative correlation between parental influence and locus of control may indicate the more reliant an individual is on their parents, the less they feel they are controlling their own lives. Further, the influence of kin and neighbours was correlated with both relation to group and with social obligation. Social obligation was described by Hui and Yee (1994) as the sense of duty towards expected interaction with ingroups and that may account for a mindfulness of opinions of those people who live around the individual.

Moreover, parental influence was also linked with higher scores of ingroup solidarity. Collectivism within the immediate family was found to be often higher in some western cultures as mentioned previously (Oyserman et al., 2002). It was suggested by Oyserman et al. (2002) that this was in part due to individuals from these cultures choosing to be close to their families.

The present findings confirm this, in part, because those who see their family as being important to them may be more likely to form a solid ingroup around them. In studies such as Hui and Yee (1994) relations towards close family was seen in many collectivist cultures as an obligation. As Oyserman et al. (2002) found, however, obligation was not the only reason why an individual may have a close bond

with family. The correlation between ingroup solidarity and parental influence may suggest that individuals in the study who tend to bond closely with their chosen ingroups may behave similarly towards their families.

There were also some interesting findings when examining the different scales of the WAI and INDCOL measures. Parental influence, for example was found to be correlated with distinctiveness from parents and spouse. Higher scores in PS dimension of INDCOL were described by Hui and Yee (1994) as indicating a sense of independence away from the family unit. Considering the mean ages of the participants, however, there may be a conflict during this stage between having the support of close family and a desire to follow their own path.

Isolation from neighbours was also positively correlated with influence from kin and neighbours. This could be explained possibly by the way in which students often form small groups which can be quite influential in their attitudes. This is in contrast to neighbours because they are less of a chosen ingroup, but also because even if a person had come from a culture where interaction with neighbours is the norm they may feel uncomfortable doing so in a place where it is not as accepted.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis drew from Hui and Triandis' (1986) assertion that there will be a significant amount of variation between different collectivist cultures in their INDCOL scale results. Due to the small sample sizes from individual collectivist countries it was difficult to make comparisons between national groupings of collectivist participants. In this case the null hypothesis was retained, however, a larger scale study may provide useful in more fully investigating the differences between these national

groups. Although there seems to be some support in these data to suggest that there are differences between individualist and collectivist groups, Hui and Trianis (1986) suggested that there are also differences between different individualist and collectivist groups that may be missed when they are grouped together. The result of studying these national groups individually may be that they present a more clear influence on member's attitudes and behaviours and hence may be more suited to use in cross cultural studies such as this one.

The second hypothesis, based on Koltko-Rivera's (2004) integrating model of worldview, suggested that the individual's culture of origin is only part influence on individual's attitudes. During the analysis of the scenario data most relationships which were noted were between measurements of the INDCOL scale and the scenario responses and within the scenario responses themselves. There were, however, some relationship present between WAI measures and scenario responses and these relationships did fit in with the findings of similarity being related to positive feeling. When relationships between WAI scores and attitudes towards the actors were present, these provided more information on why participants felt or did not feel positively towards them. As mentioned previously, it may be that the WAI would require more participants in order to more fully investigated. The presence of these relationships does suggest that by including these additional measures it is possible to gain a richer understanding of what attributes are related to positive feeling. Because of this the null hypothesis would be rejected and the alternative hypothesis, that individual attitudes would better explain the way in which they react to the behaviour other others, rather than knowing what cultural/national group they belong to, would be accepted.

The third hypothesis, which was based on Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg's (1997) theory

of self-other merging, expected that participants who rate highly in a certain WAI or INDCOL measure will be more likely to empathise with scenario characters who demonstrate attitudes similar to their own. Scenarios had many examples of high scores in rates which reflected the actions of the scenario actors being positively correlated with empathy, sympathy, value for opinion and/or self-other merging.

Each scenario had at least one example of a measure which was related to the behaviour being demonstrated by the actor being positively correlated with either empathy, sympathy, self-other merging or all three of the previous measures. An example of this is in Scenario 9 when the actor is attempting to create harmony within their workplace. For this scenario individuals who scored higher in co-worker/friend collectivism were more likely to demonstrate sympathy, empathy, value for opinion and self-other merging towards the actor. Thus, in this case the null hypothesis was rejected and the hypothesis that similarity would lead to empathy, sympathy and self-other merging was accepted.

There appeared to be more links between INDCOL scores and positive feeling towards the actors, however, due to the small number of participants, this may be due to the lack of sensitivity of the WAI. To address the hypothesis in a more thorough manner it may be necessary to select specific examples from the results.

The study also found a degree of support for the use of national and individualist/collectivist categories as research groups. There was evidence of general trends between these groups in regards to how the participants reacted to the various situations. These were not as prominent as the individual score based relationships, which provided a much more detailed account of how certain attitudes the individual may

have influence how they react to others. For example, the analysis showed that collectivist participants are significantly more likely to self-other merge with the actor in Scenario 6 who was attempting to save face by not disclosing his job loss. In Scenario 10 the actor also demonstrates what may be considered as a collectivist trait (Hui & Yee, 1994), by treating his family's considerations before his own. Here too there is a significant difference between collectivists and individualists in terms of empathy. This seems to give some support to the assertion by Hofstede (1980) that national and cultural groupings still can be used to compare behavioural differences between individuals. One of the issues, however, was that although these groups seemed to be different, their behaviour did not always match what would have been expected from previous studies.

Individualist and collectivist national groups

There were not a vast amount of differences in terms of the WAI and INDCOL measures between the two groups. One must take into account, of course, that while the participants may come from quite different environments, they are all now existing and adapting to a new context. For those who come overseas, there is a different way of doing things in a new country, there may be isolation from family and possibly a new language to learn. For those from within New Zealand university and polytech may also be a time of change as they attempt to establish themselves and perhaps be working towards independence. Those from New Zealand, however, would most likely be used to dealing with their local context, so they may have an easier time adapting than those from other nations. This may influence the type of results obtained from the different groups rather than if these cultural groups were compared while they were still living in their usual national context.

Participants grouped into the individualist category displayed slightly lower sense of distinctiveness from parents and/or spouses. This mean that they saw themselves as being more independent of their close family and more as an individual person. One possible explanation for this may be that the collectivist participants may be quite isolated from immediate family group and hence feel like they are quite removed due to distance from their influence. There was also a difference in isolation from neighbours between the two groups, with individualists tending to be more isolated. This may suggest that those from collectivist cultures are more used to involving those around them in their behaviours.

There were no differences noted between WAI scores for the two groups, which included the relation to group dimension which Koltko-Rivera (2004) identified as being significant between those from collectivist and individualist cultures. This may have been due to the WAI being not sensitive enough to be applied effectively to smaller sample sizes. Perhaps with larger groups of participants the WAI would be able to measure more variations in the worldviews of these groups.

National groups

Unfortunately some of the national group numbers were small, so it was difficult to measure much in the way of differences between the different national groups. Analysis was carried out between the two largest groups, New Zealand resident students and Chinese students. When these two groups were compared only a difference was shown in agency scores. New Zealand students seemed to be likely to have an attitude where they believe their lives are not as predetermined. Due to the cost and magnitude of studying overseas, it may be that Chinese students feel there is a more definite path they must take. The amount of capital and responsibility they have invested in them by themselves or their families may influence them to feel they have a duty to follow through with what they are doing. Alternatively,

as pointed out by Mesquita (2001) individuals from China have been found in some studies to have a reduced emphasis on the self, due to have a wide range of social demands on them to meet certain social norms.

The difference in agency scores was also found when looking at Chinese and Indonesian students. Indonesian students scored higher in agency than Chinese students. Although the sample size was small and this was just one difference (a greater sample may show more) it does hint at the idea of Hui and Yee (1994) of different types of collectivism at work across nations and cultures.

Scenario responses

Scenario 1

This scenario described a person who places the needs of his ingroup over his own benefit. The individualist group expressed more empathy towards the actor in the first scenario. It would be expected from Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman's (2002) found, in which they observed that individuals from collectivist cultures tend to favour more even, harmonious resolutions of points of conflict, that this scenario would appeal more to the collectivist group. Individualist participants, however, were also significantly more likely to demonstrate self other merging and to label the actor's behaviour as being due to being raised in New Zealand. One way to look at these data would be that self-other merging may possibly be more dependant on the person's image of their ideal self. The actor may be demonstrating behaviours which participants would like to have.

Another interesting result was that mutability was correlated to sympathy. If mutability is a test of someone's willingness to be able to adapt and to see others as capable of adapting then such a trait would be quite similar to the actor, who is having to change his behaviour in order to cater for those around him.

Also worth note is that empathy was positively correlated with sympathy, value of opinion and self-other merging. Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg (1997) empathy was a key step in being about to merge the self with another. Self-other merging was also positively correlated with value of opinion and New Zealand labelling. This would suggest that participants who value the way in which the actor behaves seem to be more likely to see themselves in this person and perhaps they even see them as a 'model' citizen of New Zealand. This would be in line with Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg's (1997) view that self-other merging, may be very important in whether someone sympathises with another.

Scenario 2

In this scenario a person is focused on following his personal ambition, rather than being more concerned with his current work status and how his actions may effect the feelings of his family.

Individualists tended to be more empathetic towards the second actor than collectivists and collectivists where more likely to label his behaviour as being a product of New Zealand society. This type of response would be expected by Hui and Yee (1994), as people from collectivist cultures tend, in study, to be more mindful of the opinions of close family members and may see this type of behaviour as being more typical of a western society. Empathy too was negatively correlated parental influence. Lee's behaviour seems to disregard his parents, hence those who identify themselves as being more

influenced by their parents would have a harder time identifying with him.

Distinctiveness from parents was found to be moderately correlated to sympathy, which would more closely match the findings of Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg (1997), as the actor is showing distinctiveness from their parents and the attitude of the actor also seems to be deemed of value to the participant. Also value for opinion was correlated with sympathy, and it was positively correlated with empathy.

There was a moderate correlation between social obligation and New Zealand labelling, that suggests that those who Hui and Yee (1994) would describe as being more collectivist see the actor's behaviour as being more typical of a western society such as New Zealand.

Scenario 3

In this scenario the person is placing the needs of an ingroup member over the needs of her family by dominating the use of the family telephone. Again for this scenario there was a positive correlation between empathy and self other merging. Interestingly there was a moderate correlation between social obligation and value of opinion. Social obligation in the study by Hui and Yee (1994) emphasises the family as the base unit and that would seem to go against the third actor's behaviour because she seems more focused on ingroup matters than the people in her family. As stated before, however, one may have to take into account the current context in which the participants are in. For most, no doubt they will be heavily focused on ingroups at their place of study. This may be for different reasons, such as to gain independence or as a support group due to the isolation from their family. Perhaps they identify more with the actor's focus on her friend's well being because it is more relevant. One piece of data that

seems to back that up is the correlation between sympathy and self other merging which is again present. Participants may be recalling similar times they have had, such as with a friend in need, because that is more present in their current context.

Scenario 4

Here a person is seen putting his desire to play an online game over the need to spend time with his girlfriend. Collectivists were more likely to be sympathetic towards the fourth and also had higher self-other merging scores. Perhaps this is due to different social expectations between the two groups. For example, compulsively playing online games maybe looked down on more in a culture where people are expected to be out socialising. This is supported by the negative correlation between ingroup solidarity and self-other merging. People who are more focused on chosen, close ingroups seem to distance themselves from the actor, who isolates himself away from these groups through his actions.

Self-other merging was negatively correlated with agency and mutability. Which would be reasonable because the actor is not showing adaptability, hence if self-other merging is about seeing similarity in another person, it would be difficult for someone with these attitudes to identify with him (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg, 1997).

Scenario 5

The actor in this scenario was seen placing a large importance on the immediate family of his girlfriend. Individualists were more likely to label the fifth actor behaviour as being a product of New Zealand society, this maybe, like with the first actor previously because his behaviour is quite ideal and perhaps is seen as how a person in a society should act. Empathy was negatively correlated with

kin/neighbour influence. Which is interesting because the actor seems very concerned with those around him, however, being that the actor has chosen to join this ingroup participants seem him less concern with what everyone thinks and more concerned with what the father thinks. On the other side collectivists would less likely to rate the actor's behaviour as being the produce of a western country because a focus on presenting oneself honourably is quite common in collectivist Asian cultures (Nagayama-Hall, Sue, Narang & Lilly, 2000).

Sympathy again, however, had a stronger correlation with self other merging and value for opinion. This further reinforces the apparent relationship between these factors, especially when it comes to being able to sympathise with others.

Scenario 6

In this scenario the actor was avoiding revealing his job loss to his family in order to save face. As would be expected according to Nagayama-Hall, Sue, Narang and Lilly (2000), collectivists were more significantly likely to self-other merge with the actor in this scenario. Nagayama-Hall, Sue, Narang and Lilly (2000) suggest that collectivists are more focused on face saving than individualists and hence they would be more able to relate to this behaviour. Relationship to group was negatively correlated to self-other merging, as those who place more emphasis on maintaining selected ingroups might focus more on the actor resisting drawing on his ingroup for support. Sympathy was also correlated with empathy, self-other merging and value for opinion in this scenario, as well as New Zealand labelling.

Scenario 7

In this scenario the actor ignores his own well being and acts irresponsibly to impress his ingroup. Individualists were more likely to label the seventh actor's behaviour as being a product of New Zealand culture, this may be due to the group containing many New Zealanders who may or may not have witnessed similar behaviour in other cultures. There was a positive correlation between kin and neighbour influence and self-other merging, which was largely expected. The actor is clearly heavily influenced by his selected ingroup and hence may be more family to those who are also quite influence by their ingroups. Although there was a negative correlation between the friend/co-worker dimension and sympathy. Perhaps this was not seen as a person's being interdependent on friends, so much as someone who is being influenced heavily by those around them. Agency was negatively correlated with sympathy, which may be due to individuals who have a stronger sense of being able to change their lives seeing the actor as a person who may lack the drive to follow his own path.

There was also a positive correlation between sympathy and self-other merging. Empathy and sympathy were negatively correlated with parental influence, which also makes intuitive sense, as the actor's behaviour most most likely not be encouraged in typical families. Ingroup solidarity was also correlated with empathy which would appear to be in line with the actor putting his interaction with his friend in front of his own welfare.

Scenario 8

Here in Scenario 8 the actor placed the needs of her workplace over those of her own out of a sense of duty. Again, the eighth actor's behaviour which could be seen and idealistic was rated more commonly as a New Zealand trait by individualists. This result maybe driven in part because people see her as a

model New Zealander, or alternatively because those from collectivist societies have not come across this type of person, or see them as a model citizen from their own culture.

There was a positive correlation between the friend/co-worker scores and self-other merging which seems to relate directly to the scenario. There was, however, a negative correlation between parental influence and value for opinion. Perhaps those with a higher focus on parental influence would be far more concerned with their parents reaction to taking such a pay cut, rather than focusing on maintaining the harmony in the workplace.

Another difference that could be interpreted in many ways was the negative correlation between mutability and value for opinion. On one hand one could say that the actor is adapting, on the other one could argue that she could be more able to find a better job when the conditions fall. If, however, the assumption of the study is valid, that similar attitudes influence positive regard and acceptance, participants may be taking the point of view that the actor is letting her employees dictate her conditions and the actor is not willing to consider other changes she may make to her situation, such as finding a different job. Social obligation was positively correlated with self-other merging which was expected from Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman's (2002) findings were more collectivists people tend to favour more harmonious solutions to conflict.

Scenario 9

In this scenario the actor places a higher importance on maintaining workplace harmony, rather than focusing on the desires of an individual or on profit. As has been the trend in the previous studies there

was support here for theory of self-other merging leading towards sympathetic feelings and behaviours (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuberg, 1997). The co-worker/friend dimension, which applies directly to this scenario as the ninth actor attempts to create harmony in the workplace and seems to value the collective feelings of her workers, is correlated with sympathy, empathy, value for opinion and self-other merging.

Agency also had a positive correlation with self-other merging. The actor does not come across as a person who lets others make decisions for her and hence may be easy to identify with for people who score highly in agency.

Scenario 10

In the scenario the actor feels a sense of obligation to his family over his own desires. Collectivists tended to be more empathetic towards the tenth actor, which is in line with Hui and Yee's (1994) findings on how individuals from countries like China are more focused on the family as the base unit , rather than the self.

There was also a positive correlation between locus of control and value for opinion. This may be due to the fact that the actor chooses to share the money with his family rather than giving into them. Sympathy in the scenario was again correlated with empathy, value for opinion and self-other merging.

General trends in scenario data

There were a number of general trends present in the scenario data. Firstly, there were several differences in the way the individualist and collectivist national groups labelled behaviours as being either typical of New Zealand society or different. Members of the individualist group tended to label behaviours that could be seen as idealistic as being typical of New Zealand. As most of the individualist group were from New Zealand, this may be due to a sense of national pride. Collectivists tended to feel that the behaviour in Scenario 2, which described a young man following his own ambitions, rather than being concerned with social obligations, was more typical of New Zealand culture. This suggests that there may be differences in the way the two groups perceive typical New Zealand behaviour to be.

There was also some support for the previous research on collectivist cultures. Participants from collectivist cultures tended to be more accepting of behaviours such as face saving, maintaining harmony and social obligation, which Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) described as being important to collectivist societies.

On many occasions participant's attitudes, as measured on the WAI and INDCOL, being similar to the behaviour of the actors seemed to influence whether they felt accepting, sympathetic or empathetic towards them. These feelings of acceptance were also related to a sense of similarity with the actor.

Self reports

The self report data rarely satisfied tests of normality. The results were all skewed towards the higher end of the scale in varying degrees, for example in the self to other attitudes scale individualist respondents rated themselves as 3 or above (out of 5) in all but one case. Twelve of the 22 respondents

rated themselves as 5. This would suggest that either the participants and their families are all very tolerant of others, or that such a question based on tolerance holds social stigma and participants feel as if they should not rate themselves low on it.

This situation adds strength to idea of using measurement scales like the WAI and INDCOL, which do not specifically ask potentially confrontational questions about how the individual perceives and judges others. Also, it may suggest that many of the participants, even though it was an anonymous study, liked to present themselves in a positive manner.

During the scenarios participants often seemed to accept ideal behaviours as being such as their own that may also reflect this positive bias. Alternatively, as suggested in the scenario discussion, the participants may be presenting their ideal selves in the self report data. This may suggest an additional level of complexity as individuals are not only identifying with those similar to their values but also with those who have similar values to their ideal self.

Individualist participants seemed to generally rate themselves higher than collectivists on the scales of self tolerance to different attitudes and cultures. One reason for this may be that these values are quite highly regarded in western countries like New Zealand. Previous studies, such as that of Ward and Masgoret (2008), have suggested that New Zealanders tend to indicate they are more tolerant of other cultures and have a strong endorsement for multiculturalism.

Gender and Age

Although the study did not focus on gender and age, they were initially considered as possible confounding variables. There were no effects of gender found however for the WAI and INDCOL responses. Age was shown to be positively correlated with locus of control. One would guess this is due to the older participants being more likely to be independent from their families. Also there was a negative correlation between age and parental influence. This also fits in with the idea that older participants may have distanced themselves more from parental influence. For individualist participants, however, there was a positive relationship between age and both parental influence and perceived family tolerance. This suggests that for individualists they seem more likely with age to seek out their parents for support and tend to see them as being more accepting of others.

Using Individualist and Collectivist groupings versus focusing on individual attitude differences

The analysis of the individualist and collectivist groups indicated that there were some general cultural trends that may be present. There were some differences in how the individuals in these two groups scores in the measures and well as the kinds of behaviours they saw themselves as tolerant towards. Some of these differences may quite readily theorised on, such as the differences in New Zealand labelling. There were a number of occasions where the two groups showed difference in their labelling of New Zealand behaviour and this may be due to the different understandings that participants have about what it means to be a New Zealander or what behaviours are typical of New Zealand society. Also, there may be some bias in New Zealand participants to identify model behaviours as belonging to their own ingroup.

There were also some differences present that reflected previous research on individualist and collectivist groups, such as collectivist participants being more accepting of face saving behaviours and actors who show a strong obligation to family members (Nagayama-Hall et al., 2000). Other differences may not be as easily explained. For example, collectivists were more accepting of an actor who gave higher priority to an online game over his girlfriend. There were also a number of occasions where there were no differences identified between the two groups suggesting that culture of origin would only go a short way in identifying possible motivations behind the acceptance of others.

The limitation of using these two groups in studies has been highlighted by Hui and Yee (1994), in their development of context specific measures of individualism and collectivism. The earlier use of such general groups may have missed out on important differences within the groups themselves. For example, Hui and Yee (1994) found that there were differences between the types of collectivism which were present in different Asian countries.

When the two groups were merged and then analysed based on individual scores of the scales, several possible relationships between individual attitude and acceptance were discovered. This seemed to give more of an idea of the types of attitudes which were present and how they may be effecting how readily one individual accepts another. Koltko-Rivera (2004) suggests that the measurement of these individual attributes is necessary to gain a more complete picture of a person's worldview. The present study would seem to support this concept to a degree, as analysis based only on general nation groupings seems to produce less information about possible motivations behind why one individual is tolerant of another. The analysis of the individualist and collectivist groups only suggested that there are some trends within these groups, without being able to provide information on why these trends may be

occurring.

Importance of findings

These findings showed some support for the worldview of individuals being made up of a number of different attitudes. What was quite relevant to the way the participants reacted to the actors in the scenarios, was the different levels of context specific collectivism/individualism which was identified in the scores of the INDCOL scale. There were a number of correlations between the levels of scales and how empathetic the participants found themselves of actors either acting in a manner which either matched or did not match their own attitudes. According to Cialdini et al. (1997) these empathetic reactions have the potential to translate into prosocial behaviours in real situations and may go some way to illustrate the importance of understanding and communication between cultural groups. By helping members of different cultural groups to be able to identify similarities in attitudes and goals they have, it may be that the likelihood of positive interactions between them will be increased based on the findings of Cialdini et al. (1997).

When participants held similar attitudes to those they could observe in other's behaviour there was a general trend towards acceptance and empathetic feeling. This lends some support to Fleras (1998) and Clarke (2006) who suggested that through closer contact and understanding cultural groups would be better able to work with each other. The current data point out one way in which this may occur, which is through individuals being able to identify similarities between themselves and those from other groups. By gaining a more in depth understanding of those in other cultures, individuals may be more likely to find similarities and common goals of others and this may help them form more positive attitudes towards them.

This was also found by Johnson and Johnson (1989), who found that in an educational setting members of heterogeneous groups formed more positive relationships when they worked alongside each other completing common goals. This is also important in how to apply the findings of such studies into New Zealand society. By helping foster common goals to work towards, individuals would be given more opportunity to learn more about each other and to be able to identify attitudes they may have in common.

Observations

What was interesting was the richness of data that was collected from the scenarios. Data from the WAI scale and INDCOL scale often failed to produce any notable relationships. This may be due to the small sample sizes or due to the study using students who may have been studying in New Zealand for quite some time. The scenario data, however, demonstrated many relationships that were expected from previous research. The WAI and INDCOL scales were better utilised along side these scenarios as it made possible the matching of categorised attitudes along with creations to either matching or in congruent behaviours in the scenarios.

Unlike the study of Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002) the current study looked at the validity of using individualist and collectivist national groupings. The INDCOL and WAI measures did not give a clear way of separating the participants into these categories. As Hui and Yee (1994) mention, however, there is variation both within and between collectivists and individualist groups. There were some difference between the groups in relation to the scenarios, which indicates that there is some generalised differences between individualist and

collectivist groups making them valid categories to study. The study, however, did show relationships between several of the measures of the INDCOL and to a lesser extent the WAI and responses to the scenarios. This suggests that individual differences in attitudes may be more useful in understanding individual's behaviours towards others, rather than national or cultural groupings.

Many of the studies that have looked at these large scale groups have had to significantly alter their measurement techniques over time (Oyserman et al., 2002). Individualist and collectivist constructs, for example, have been broken down into context specific subcategories, such as those in Hui and Yee's (1994) INDCOL scale, to cater better for differences within these groupings. The number of individual differences in these data that could be influencing behaviour towards others, may suggest in a society such as New Zealand, that these large groups may not be as relevant. The make up of the New Zealand population may be quite heterogeneous, compared to countries which place less emphasis on multiculturalism, and hence in this context there may be a lesser effect cultural groups influencing behaviour and more individual difference.

Limitations

The small sample sizes of the national groups made comparison between them not feasible. The larger categories of individualist and collectivist societies were used, based on previous research that classified these countries into one category or the other. There are some issues with this, as Triandis, McCusker, Hui (1990) pointed out, that cultures are not static and countries that seemed to fit into a certain category years ago, may now be quite varied. Also, some of the participants from these countries had been in the country for some time and perhaps adjusted or had changed to suit their environment. Previous research such as Hui and Yee (1994) often compared individuals who were still

living in their country of origin and hence lived in a different context to students studying overseas.

The study also focused on only one possible factor influencing prosocial attitudes and tolerance between different cultural groups. Although feelings of likeness or similarity may play an important role in how people see other cultural groups it is important to acknowledge that in New Zealand society there may be other factors that could also influence cross cultural interactions, perhaps even to a larger extent. One such factor is the perception of threat from other groups the person is feeling (Raijman & Semyonov, 2004). In Raijman and Semyonov's (2004) study of attitudes towards overseas migrants in Israel, they found that perceived social and economic threat as well as political affiliation, socio-economic status and ethnicity were all factors in how tolerant individuals were of those from other cultures. The current study did not ask participants about any perceived threats they felt from others groups.

Although the self measures which were included were not found to be normally distributed when tested, they did tend to be skewed towards positive responses. Participants generally thought of themselves as tolerant of other cultures. Also participants were generally 'voluntarist', as classified by Koltko-Rivera (2004), meaning that they are more likely to take direct action to achieve desired results. This may be expected as the study required volunteers to come forward, which would possibly affect the type of participants involved, rather than if they had to complete the test as part of their course requirement.

Future research

The basis of using the two measures alongside scenarios seems to provide a rich array of data. Similar studies using larger sample sizes may identify additional trend as some of the measures which were used may not have been sensitive enough for small sample sizes. Also, there are several points of interest in Koltko-Rivera's (2004) study that are not addressed in the measuring tool. Although adding more dimensions to be studied will no doubt make the study larger and more complex, it would allow relationships between similarity to the self and empathy, which may have been missed, to be studied.

Also, the study did not use a practical component of participants working through situations like the study of Wade-Benzoni, Okumura, Brett, Moore, Tenbrunsel and Bazerman (2002), where participants had to work together on tasks. That study had issues arising of participants wanting to be seen favourably, and perhaps to some extent the anonymous nature of the survey could have dampened that. It would, however, still be important to see actual demonstrations of helping behaviour to confirm the link between empathy and helpfulness.

Importantly, the study also seemed to suggest that there may be a great amount of value in rethinking how cultural groups are categorised. Rather than by grouping individuals based on arbitrary national or cultural affiliations there may be cause to take into account individual trends in attitudes when making groups. For example, by grouping individuals based on certain attitudes stronger correlations with accepting behaviour may be identified. While this would make studies much more complicated, in societies where the population is quite heterogeneous in nature placing individuals into large groups may not be suitable.

In addition, these attitude scores could be used to refine the cultural groupings themselves. Rather than thinking of a certain group as collectivist, for example, it may be more descriptive to specify trends within that group regarding certain attitudes which are more likely to be present. These identified attitudes may give some suggestions about why certain trends in acceptance are present. This concept is used in the research of Hui and Yee (1994) when they noted differences between different collectivist cultures, however, it may be useful to further refine groups based on the different attributes they demonstrate. For example, within a national group such as Chinese, there exist several types of ethnic and regional groups that may differ significantly in how they react to other groups around them.

Importance in a New Zealand context

Clarke (2006) suggested that it was the lack of understanding between cultural groups, in societies like New Zealand that was a key factor in conflicts which arise. Some of the findings can be seen to support such a notion. Participants in the study tended to relate more favourably with those who they perceived as having similar core values. If, as Clarke (2006) mentioned, cultural groups are being isolated from one another, it may be difficult for individuals to gain a true understanding of members of other groups and be able to recognise similarities which exist. If members of other groups are only seen from a distance, important information may be lost that may enhance an individual's ability to relate positively with them.

In New Zealand the government and the people have had to find ways to deal with cultural differences since the time of European settlement. Recently the focus has been on a bicultural partnership between the cultures and the recognition of Māori as the *Tangata Whenua*, or 'people of the land', recognising their status as the original inhabitants of New Zealand and their connection with the land.

As the numbers of migrants from other national groups increased the concept of biculturalism has been questioned (Woodd, 2006). Rather than focusing on European and Māori groups as the two main parties in New Zealand there has been an increase in recognition of other national and cultural groups that have settled in New Zealand (e.g, Chinese, Korean, Indian etc.). Although Woodd (2006) argues that although biculturalism set a foundation for multiculturalism, there has still been resistance to embrace fully multiculturalism as a cornerstone of New Zealand society.

There has, however, been some concern over the effect of multiculturalism in New Zealand on the Māori population (Durie, 2005). By embracing multiculturalism some Māori groups have questioned whether it will lessen their status as a major stake holder in New Zealand society. Durie (2005) argued that multiculturalism could be made to work alongside biculturalism and was necessary in a society which was becoming more heterogeneous. Strategies which have worked in the past, when New Zealand's population was made up of a different cultural mix and perhaps more homogeneous, may need reworking as situations change.

The complex dynamics of New Zealand society highlight the importance of good cross cultural relations. If an increase in understanding and communication between cultural groups can lead to more positive interactions, this may be applied to relations with Māori communities also to further enhance the goals of biculturalism but also to help both European and Māori communities to accept other cultural groups that exist in New Zealand.

Further, this concept of fostering mutual understanding may be relevant to groups within a society. Often there are a number of different subgroups within a community that may also have some difficulty accepting each other or working together. In New Zealand, for example, there have been different cultural groups present for a long time. Relations between groups, such as European New Zealanders and Māori New Zealanders have at times been strained. Some of this tension has been due to the different worldviews that are present within these groups.

This could also be said of the concept of a single Māori people, were several different Iwi which may have quite distinct differences, are sometimes compared as part of a larger homogeneous group. Such a grouping may, as Clarke (2006) suggested, hinder members of outside groups gaining any real understanding of the different tribal groups and lead to a false illusion that Māori people are more similar to each other than they really are. By fostering a greater understanding between cultural groups, through the establishment of common goals and more open communication, there is a chance that some of these misunderstandings and tensions between cultural groups may be reduced as individuals become aware that members of seemingly different cultures may hold similar values and attitudes. Although New Zealand has promoted the strength of accepting different beliefs and attitudes, this may be difficult to achieve without also encouraging people to seek mutual goals and common ground to meet upon.

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Table 1

WAI, INDCOL and Self Report scores for Individualist and Collectivist groups

	Social Grouping N		<i>t</i> (df)	Sig.
	Individualist	Collectivist		
Self Report				
Family to other cultures	4.1	3.7	1.35(40)	0.18
Self to other cultures	4.6	4.0	2.58(40)	0.01#
Family to other attitudes	3.8	3.3	1.66(40)	0.11
Self to other attitudes	4.3	3.6	2.73(40)	0.01#
INDCOL				
Co-worker/Friend	19.3	18.5	0.53(40)	0.60
Parent/Autonomy	1.8	0.8	0.96(40)	0.34
Kin/Neighbour	-0.6	0.2	-0.49(40)	0.63
Parents/Spouse	0.0	-2.9	3.37(40)*	0.00
Neighbour Isolation	-11.0	-14.8	2.28(40)*	0.03
Ingroup Solidarity	21.1	16.3	2.06(40)*	0.05
Social Obligation	-11.6	-14.6	1.04(40)	0.31
WAI				
Agency	44.1	39.6	1.97(39)	0.06
Mutability	18.3	16.6	1.36(39)	1.69
Locus	52.3	49.4	0.93(39)	0.36
Relation to group	44.6	43.9	0.27(39)	0.79
Relation to authority	22.1	22.2	-0.03(39)	0.98
Metaphysics	43.5	43.4	0.03(39)	0.98

Note: * = $p \leq 0.05$, # = Discarded as tests of normality not met.

Table 2

Correlations for Self report, WAI and INDCOL scores for Individualist participants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Age							-.427*									.551**		
<u>Selfreport measures</u>																		
2. Perceived tolerance of family to other cultures				.662**						.432*		.596**						
3. Perceived tolerance of self to other cultures																		
4. Perceived tolerance of family to other attitudes		.662**			.667**					.458*								
5. Perceived tolerance of self to other attitudes				.667**						.556**	.510*					.449*		
<u>INDCOL Scores</u>																		
6. Co-worker/friend (CF)											.881**						.462*	
7. Parental consultation and sharing (PA)	-.427*										.522*					-.447*		
8. Kin/neighbour (KN)										.534*		.856**						
9. Parent/Spouse (PS)											.483*							
10. Neighbour isolation (NE)		.432*		.458*	.556*			.534*				.894**						
11. Ingroup solidarity						.881**	.522*		.483*								.456*	
12. Social obligation					.510*			.856**		.894**								
<u>WAI Scores</u>																		
13. Agency		.596**																
14. Mutability																		
15. Locus of control							-.447*											
16. Relationship to group					.449*													
17. Relationship to Authority						.462*					.456*							
18. Metaphysics																		

Nonsignificant correlations are omitted for clarity of presentation

* = p<.05, ** = p<.01

Table 3

Correlations for Self report, WAI and INDCOL scores for Collectivist participants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Age																		
															.672**			
<u>Self report measures</u>																		
2. Perceived tolerance of family to other cultures			.740**	.488*	.627**								.516*					
3. Perceived tolerance of self to other cultures			.740**	.501*	.466*													
4. Perceived tolerance of family to other attitudes			.488*	.501*	.493*													
5. Perceived tolerance of self to other attitudes			.627**	.466*	.493*								.491*				-.489*	.459*
<u>INDCOL Scores</u>																		
6. Co-worker/friend (CF)																		
7. Parental consultation and sharing (PA)								.748**			.768**		.549*	-.542*				
8. Kin/neighbour (KN)												.868**				.482*		
9. Parent/Spouse (PS)							.748**				.709**		.684**					
10. Neighbour isolation (NE)												.803**		-.448*				
11. Ingroup solidarity							.768**		.709**				.557*					
12. Social obligation								.868**		.803**			-.468*		.504*			
<u>WAI Scores</u>																		
13. Agency		.516*			.491*												-.548*	.698**
14. Mutability						.549*		.684**	-.448*	.557*	-.468*						-.451*	
15. Locus of control		.672**					-.542*											
16. Relationship to group							.482*				.504*		-.451*					
17. Relationship to Authority					-.489*								-.548*					-.574**
18. Metaphysics					.459*								.698**					-.574**

Nonsignificant correlations are omitted for clarity of presentation

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 4

WAI, INDCOL scores for Chinese and New Zealander groups

	National Grouping N		<i>t</i> (df)	Sig.
	Chinese	NZ		
INDCOL				
Co-worker/Friend	16.5	19.6	1.37(28)	0.18
Parent/Autonomy	1.3	2.0	0.53(28)	0.60
Kin/Neighbour	-0.6	0.2	-0.30(28)	0.77
Parents/Spouse	0.0	-0.7	1.60(28)	0.12
Neighbour Isolation	-17.1	-11.3	2.58(28)*	0.02
Ingroup Solidarity	15.4	21.2	1.72(28)	0.10
Social Obligation	-17.1	-12.0	1.29(28)	0.21
WAI				
Agency	34.0	43.7	3.77(27)*	0.00
Mutability	16.9	18.1	0.65(27)	0.52
Locus	47.5	50.8	0.96(27)	0.35
Relation to group	43.6	44.5	0.21(27)	0.84
Relation to authority	25.1	22.0	-1.19(27)	0.24
Metaphysics	37.1	44.7	1.43(27)	0.16

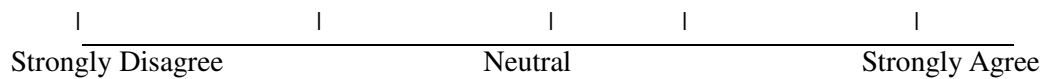
Note: * = $p \leq 0.05$

Appendix A

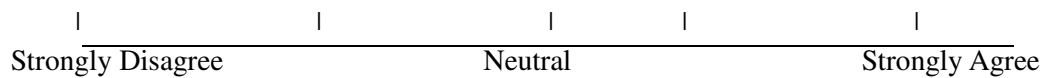
For the following place an 'X' at the point you feel most reflects your response.

Robert and a group of his friends have gone away for a fishing trip. When they arrive it turns out that Robert is the only one who brought any bait. Robert decides to split the bait up evenly even though it means they will not be able to fish for very long.

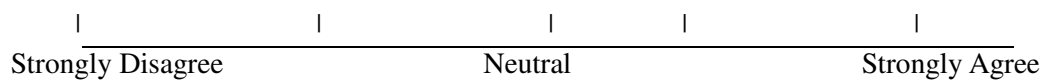
1. I hope Robert and his friends have an enjoyable fishing trip



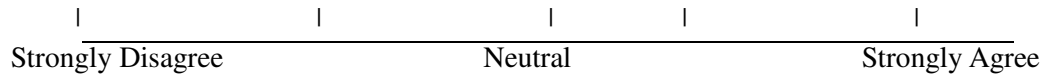
2. Robert should have just kept the bait, it was their fault for not bringing any



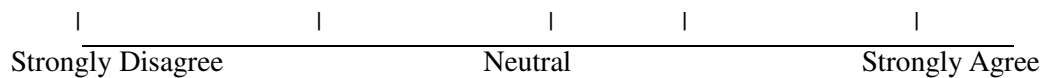
3. What Robert is doing is the right thing for himself



4. I can see how Robert is similar to myself

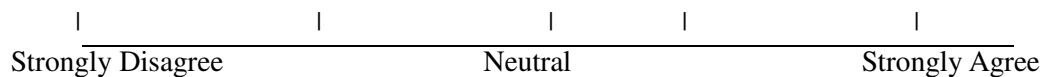


5. Robert's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture



Lee has worked in an office for the last 5 years and now is on a good wage. He is also in line to become an assistant departmental manager. His father is very proud of him because he is working in the same line of business as he did. Lee, however, has plans of leaving his job and trying to start a rock band with one of his long time friends.

1. I hope that Lee is successful in his new career



2. Lee should think more carefully before giving up a good job for a dream.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Lee is doing is the right thing for himself

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Lee is similar to myself.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Lee's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Mindy is living at home with her parents and two siblings. She enjoys chatting on-line with her friends from school. Yesterday one of her best friends broke up with her boyfriend and Mindy has been on the computer almost non stop. Because there is only one computer in the house her siblings are annoyed she is dominating her time on it. Mindy claims she should have more time on-line because comforting her friend is important.

1. I hope that Mindy is allowed to comfort her friend uninterrupted

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

2. Mindy should get off the computer so others can use it.

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Mindy is doing is the right thing for herself

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Mindy is similar to myself.

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Mindy's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Vinny is an unemployed young man. Vinny spends much of his day playing a popular on-line game.

Recently he had to cancel a date with his girlfriend because he wanted to complete a game quest that day.

1. I hope that Vinny does well in his quest.

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

2. Vinny should realise it is just a game and go out with his girlfriend instead.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Vinny is doing is the right thing for himself

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Vinny is similar to myself.

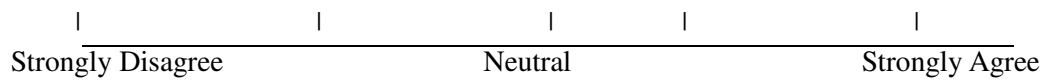
| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Vinny's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

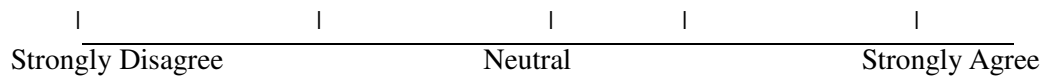
| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Sam is about to meet his girlfriend's parents for the first time. Worried about the first impression he will make Sam goes to the city to buy a new shirt and have his hair cut.

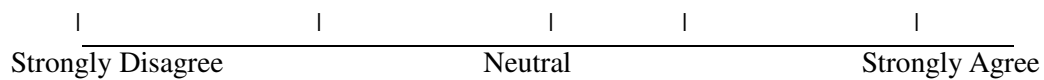
1. I hope Sam makes a good impression



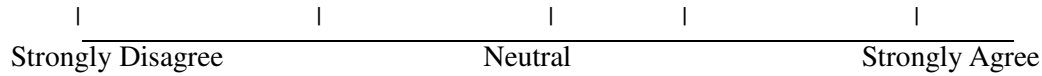
2. Sam should just be relaxed and not worry so much what people think of him



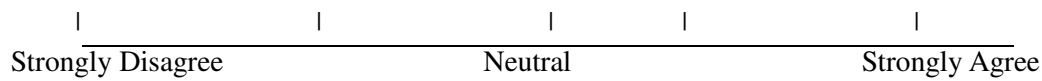
3. What Sam is doing is the right thing for himself



4. I can see how Sam is similar to myself.

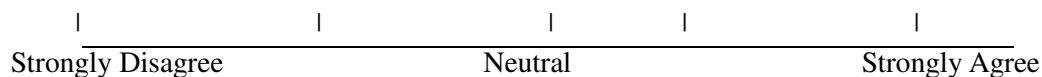


5. Sam's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture



Robert recently lost his job at the factory. Even though he is deeply upset Robert decides not to tell his family and try to look for another job. In order for his family to not to know what is going on he goes out and comes back the same time as before, but really goes out looking for work.

1. I hope that Robert finds a job before his family notices



2. Robert should tell his family because they are there to support him

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Robert is doing is the right thing for herself

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Robert is similar to myself.

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Robert's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Yesterday after work Digby's friends asked him to come out for a few drinks. While Digby knew he
 had trouble handling alcohol he drank a substantial amount to keep up with the others. He is currently

nursing a hangover after being violently ill for the rest of the night.

1. I hope that Digby recovers quickly from his experience

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

2. Digby should learn how to stand up for himself and say 'no'.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Digby is doing is the right thing for himself

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Digby is similar to myself.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Digby's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Robyn works for a small fruit and vegetable store. Last week the owners told her that she would have to take a large pay cut because business was so bad. Robyn accepted this condition because they had always been good to her.

1. I hope that things work out well for Robyn and the store

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

2. Robyn should find another job because she is being ripped off

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

3. What Robyn is doing is the right thing for herself

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Robyn is similar to myself.

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Robyn's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Janice owns a small electrical goods company. Recently her top salesperson Scott, who makes far more sales than the other employees, has told her that he wants to be paid more than the other workers.

Janice knows, however, that this will make all the other workers upset so she decides to increase all the

wages by a smaller amount even if it means Scott may leave.

1. I hope Scott sees that Janice is trying to do the right thing

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

2. Janice should understand that Scott is the reason his business is doing well and reward him

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

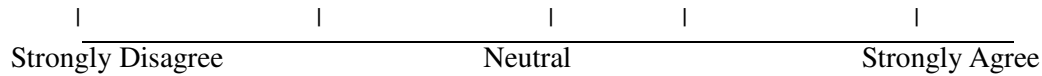
3. What Janice is doing is the right thing for herself

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Janice is similar to myself.

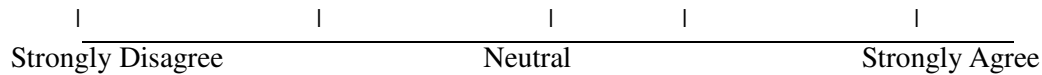
| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Janice's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

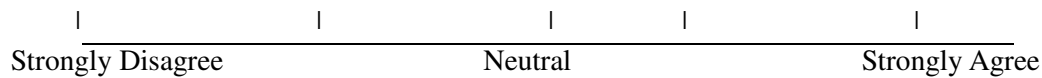


Last week Emilio won a great deal of money from a lottery. Suddenly Emilio has been flooded with family from all over. Even so, he has decided to share out much of his new money with them.

1. I hope that Emilio manages to help as many of his family as possible



2. Emilio is a fool, he should understand these people are just after his money



3. What Emilio is doing is the right thing for himself

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

4. I can see how Emilio is similar to myself.

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

5. Emilio's behaviour is typical of someone brought up in New Zealand culture

| | | | |
Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Appendix B

Invitation to participate

Today we are asking you to participate in a research study about what people think about life and the world. The way we will get this information is to ask you to fill out questionnaires which we hope you will find interesting and which should take 45 minutes or less to complete.

If, after you start the questionnaire, you feel that you would rather not be part of the study, you do not have to finish the questionnaires. However, if you do wish to be part of the study, we will need completed questionnaires from you.

This is an anonymous survey, so please do not put your name on any materials. There are no right or wrong answers and I would appreciate your honest reactions. If you would like to see results of the current study please let me know and I will forward the information when the results have all been analysed.

Appendix C

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WAI Scales
Instructions

This is a survey of attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. The best answer is what you feel is true for you.

Please respond to *each* of the items by CIRCling *one and only one* of the following:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
----------------------	------------------------	-------------------	---------------	----------------	---------------------	-------------------	----

Mark “??” if you *do not understand* what the item means.

Mark “Cannot Say” if you cannot decide whether you agree or disagree with the item. Please try to use the “Cannot Say” response as little as possible.

Please respond as quickly as possible to each item. Don’t think a lot about each item — what **first** comes to mind is how you should respond. Please work alone on this survey.

Appendix D

Biographical Survey

Sex (please circle one): Female Male

Date of Birth: _____

Education

Please circle highest grade completed

1. Some high school
2. High school graduate
3. Some college/University, no degree
4. Certificate/Diploma
5. Bachelor's degree
6. Some post graduate, no degree
7. Master's degree
8. Doctoral or professional degree (MD, DD etc)

Ethnic Identification

Race

Please circle one and only one of the following

1. Maori
2. Asian
3. Pacific Islander
4. European New Zealander
5. African
6. Other (please specify) _____
7. Multiracial

If you selected multiracial please list all that apply

National Origins

Country of your birth _____

Country of your mother's birth _____

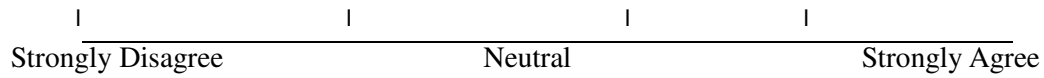
Country of your father's birth _____

For the following place an 'X' at the point you feel most reflects your response.

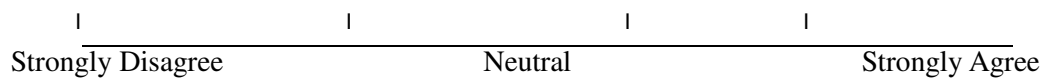
Would you consider you family tolerant of other cultures?

| | | |
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Would you consider yourself tolerant of other cultures?



Would you consider you family tolerant of other peoples attitudes?



Would you consider yourself tolerant of other people's attitudes?



Appendix E

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01.	Some social groups can keep people down no matter how much the people want to succeed.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
02.	My country's needs come before my own.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
03.	There is a real spiritual realm that affects our life in this world.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
04.	If you work hard and manage your money well, you'll never have to worry about being poor.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
05.	Free will is part of human nature.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
06.	My neighborhood's needs come before my own.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
07.	A teacher should set rules in class rather than decide them along with the students.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
08.	Prejudice keeps many people from getting a job.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
09.	The feeling that we have personal choice is actually just an illusion.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??

10.	Other people must take care of themselves; I've got to look out for Number One.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
11.	A person's character cannot be altered, tampered with, or changed.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
12.	When we die, we die; there is no continued existence.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
13.	People only believe in "free will" because they are taught to believe in it.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
14.	My own goals are more important than the goals of my group, at work, school, or in my community.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
15.	At home, important decisions should be made by the parents and children together.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
16.	There is only matter; there is no substance such as 'spirit.'	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
17.	If people really want to succeed, they'll overcome any kind of discrimination.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
18.	My family's needs come before my own.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
19.	Even a lot of bad friends cannot change a basically good child for long.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??

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20.	Nothing is really 'dead': spirit infuses everything and everyone.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
21.	Poor people can justly blame society for their position in life.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
22.	People really have "free will" in making choices for their lives.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
23.	At work, managers and workers should work together to make important business decisions.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
24.	People can actually receive revelation or visions from the spiritual realm.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
25.	When poor people do drugs, it is because society has made them desperate.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
26.	In a company, it is better to contribute to the overall performance of one's department rather than to just further one's career.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
27.	Poor people can justly blame rich people for their position in life.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
28.	Prayer may make someone feel good, but otherwise it is pointless.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??

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- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|----|
| 29. | Unemployment exists because some people don't want to work. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 30. | It may take a lot of effort, but a person can decide to change even a very old habit. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 31. | What I think I should do is more important to me than what the leaders of my spiritual community think I should do. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 32. | Even 'brainwashing' or torture cannot really change someone's basic character. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 33. | When poor people do drugs, it's because they don't want to improve themselves. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 34. | Human beings are like computers: controlled by their programming, and without real choice. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 35. | My first allegiance is to myself, rather than to anyone or anything else. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |
| 36. | It is important for twelve-year-old children to obey their parents' directions without dispute. | Disagree Strongly | Disagree Moderately | Disagree A Bit | Cannot Say | Agree A Bit | Agree Moderately | Agree Strongly | ?? |

37.	There is no such thing as an 'ultimate' or spiritual reality beyond everyday life.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
38.	The idea of "free will" is a joke: there is no such thing.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
39.	As an employee, the company's needs come before my own.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
40.	The important decisions in a family should be made by the parents alone, rather than deciding along with the children.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
41.	Some people possess actual spiritual powers like healing and being able to foresee the future.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
42.	People drop out of high school because of racism and prejudice in the school system.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
43.	I would donate my recreational spending money for one month if the head of my religious congregation asked for a donation for necessary repairs to our house of worship.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
44.	A basically kind, optimistic person will remain that way, even after surviving a hostage experience.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??

45.	When people say they feel joy through spiritual experiences, this is just the power of suggestion.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
46.	A shift in company policies can make even a hard-working person unemployed and poor.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
47.	Teachers and students should work together to compose classroom rules.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
48.	No other group of people can keep you down if you are determined to succeed.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
49.	We can receive messages from spirits.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
50.	Anyone who really wants to work can get a job.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
51.	People can decide to live differently than any way they have ever been taught.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
52.	I value my own freedom above even my family relationships.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
53.	Anyone who really values education will be sure to graduate from high school, at least.	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??

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54. I would rather spend time working on my own projects than serve on the local community board for free.

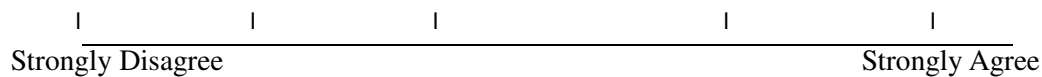
Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Disagree A Bit	Cannot Say	Agree A Bit	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly	??
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Appendix F

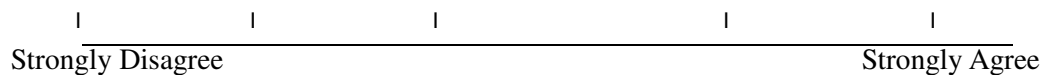
For the following place an 'X' at the point you feel most reflects your response. For questions asking for a number in response i.e. [1/2 / 3 /4 or more], circle your appropriate choice.

Spouse

s1. If a husband is a sports fan, a wife should also cultivate an interest in sports. If the husband is a stock broker, the wife should also be aware of the current market situation



s2. A marriage becomes a model for us when the husband loves what the wife loves and hates what the wife hates.



s3. Married people should have some time to be alone from each other everyday, undisturbed by their spouse.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

s4. If one is interested in a job about which the spouse is not very enthusiastic, one should apply for it anyway.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

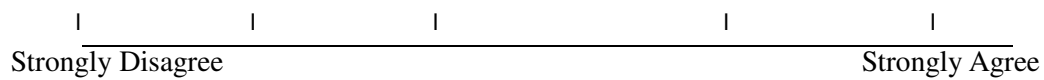
s5. Even if my spouse were from a different religion, there would not be any interpersonal conflict between us.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

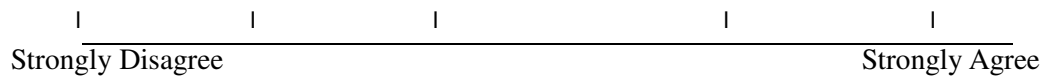
s6. It is better for a husband and wife to have their own bank accounts rather than to have a joint account.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

s7. The decision of where one is to work should be jointly made with one's spouse, if one is married.

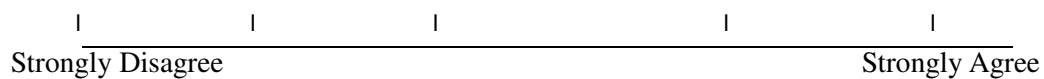


s8. It is desirable that a husband and a wife have their own set of friends, instead of having one a common set of friends.

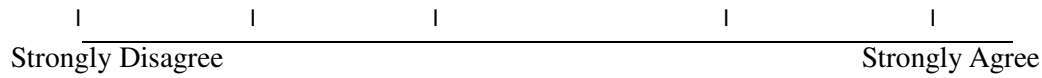


Parent

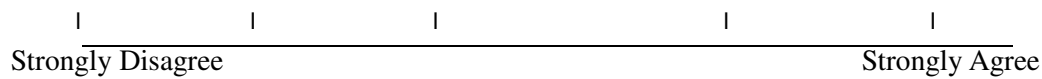
p1. My musical interests are extremely different from my parents.



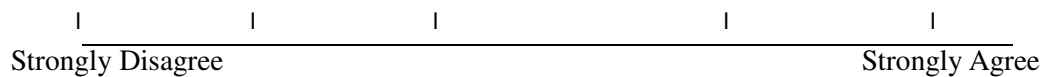
p2. In their days parents are too stringent with their kids, stunting the development of initiative.



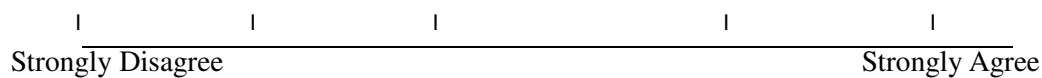
p3. When making important decisions, I seldom consider the positive and negative effects my decisions have on my father.



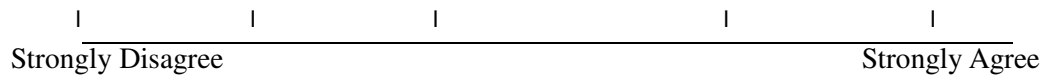
p4. Teenagers should listen to their parents' advice on dating.



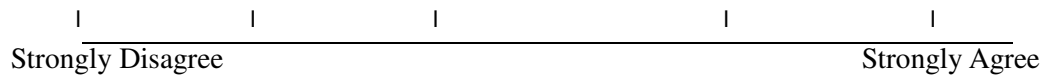
p5. Even if the child won a Nobel Prize, the parents should not feel honoured in any way.



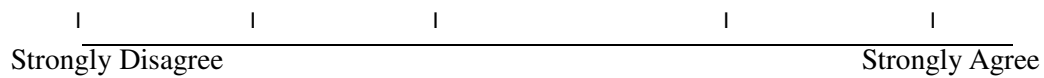
p6. It is reasonable for a son to continue his father's business.



p7. I would not share my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with my parents.



p8. I practice the religion of my parents.



p9. I would not let my needy mother use the money that I have saved by living a less than luxurious life.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

p10. I would not let my parents use my car (if I have one), whether they are good drivers or not.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

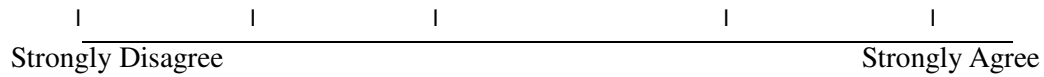
p11. Children should not feel honoured even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contribution and service to the community.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

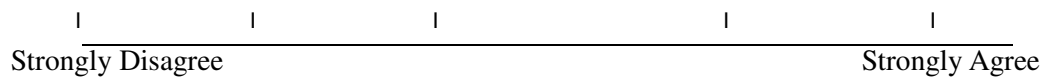
p12. Success and failure in my academic work and career are closely tied to the nurture provided by my parents.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

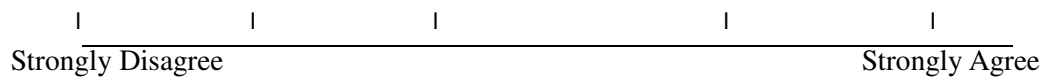
p13. Young people should take into consideration their parents' advice when making education/career plans.



p14. The bigger a family, the more family problems there are.



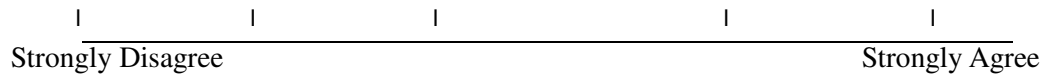
p15. I have never told my parents the number of sons I want to have,



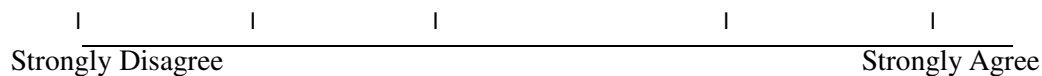
p16. The number of sons my parents would like me to have differs by [0 / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 or more / I don't know] from the number I personally would like to have. (Circle one)

Kin

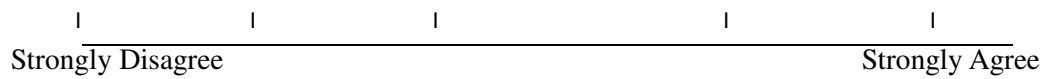
k1. I would help, within my means, if a relative told me that he/she is in financial difficulty.



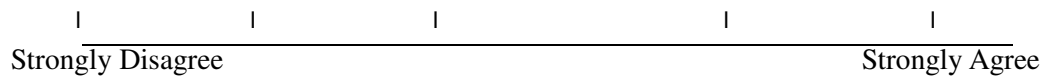
k2. If I met a person whose last name was the same as mine, I would start wondering whether we were, at least remotely, related by blood.



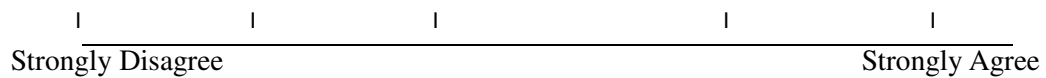
k3. Whether one spends an income extravagantly or stingily is of no concern to one's relatives (cousins, uncles).



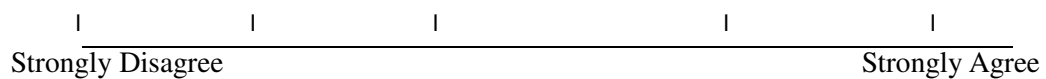
k4. I would not let my cousin use my car (if I have one).



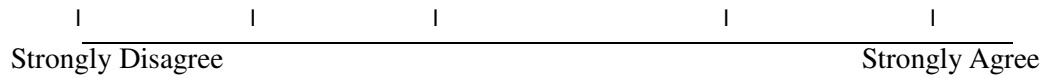
k5. When deciding what kind of work to do, I would definitely pay attention to the views of relatives of my generation.



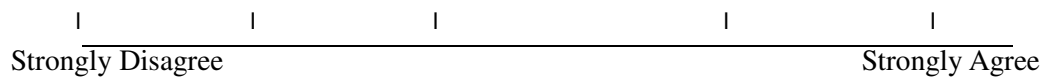
k6. When deciding what kind of education to have, I would pay absolutely no attention to my uncle's advice.



k7. Each family have its own problems unique to itself. It does not help to tell relatives about one's problems.

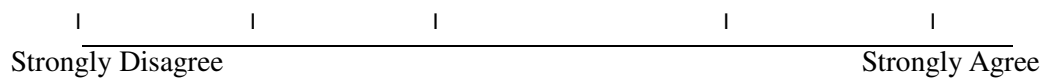


k8. I can count on my relatives for help if I find myself in any kind of trouble.

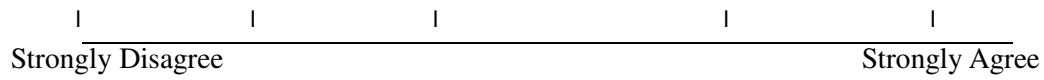


Neighbour

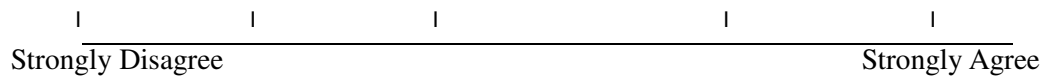
n1. I have never chatted with my neighbours about the political future of this state.



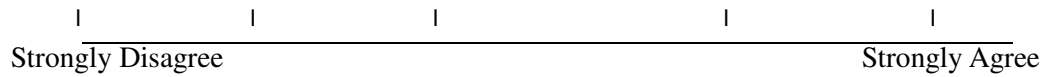
n2. I am often influenced by the moods of my neighbours.



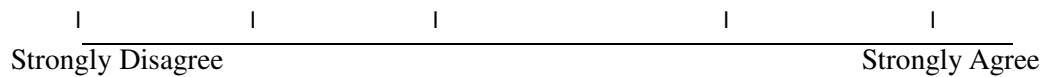
n3. My neighbours always tell me interesting stories that have happened around them.



n4. I am not interested in knowing what my neighbours are really like.



n5. One need not worry about what the neighbours say about whom one should marry.



n6. I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbours everyday.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

n7. In the past, my neighbours have never borrowed anything from me or my family.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

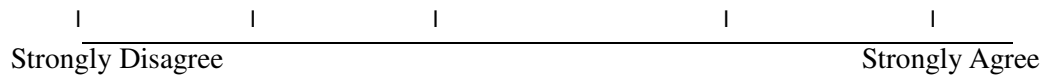
n8. One needs to be cautious in talking with neighbours, otherwise others might think you are nosy.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

n9. I don't really know how to befriend my neighbours.

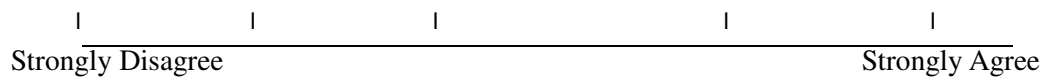
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

n10. I feel uneasy when my neighbours do not greet me when we come across each other.

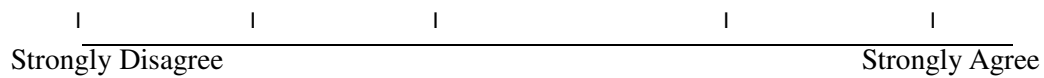


Friend

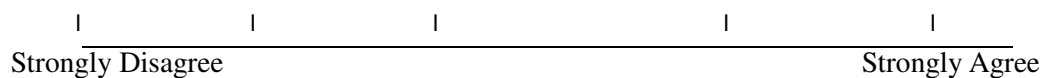
f1. I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends.



f2. If possible, I would like co-owning a car with my close friends, so that it wouldn't be necessary for them to spend much money to buy their own cars.



f3. I like to live close to my good friends.



f4. My good friends and I agree on the best places to shop.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

f5. I would pay absolutely no attention to my close friends' views when deciding what work to do.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

f6. To go on a trip with friends makes one less free and mobile. As a result, there is less fun.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

f7. It is a personal matter whether I worship money or not. Therefore it is not necessary for my friends to give any counsel.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

f8. The motto “sharing in both blessing and calamity” is still applicable even if one’s friend is clumsy, dumb, and causes a lot of trouble.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

f9. There are approximately [0 / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / more than 4] of my friends who know how much my family as a whole earns each month. (Circle one)

f10. One the average, my friends' ideal number of children differs from my own ideal by [0 / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 or more / I don't know my friends' ideal]. (Circle one)

Co-worker

c1. It is inappropriate for a supervisor to ask subordinates about their personal life (such as where one plans to go for the next vacation).

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

c2. When I am among my colleagues/classmates, I do my own thing without minding about them.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

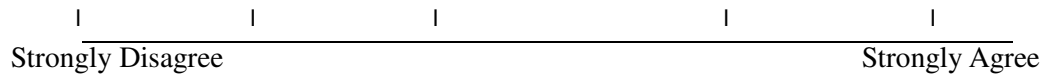
c3. One needs to return a favour if a colleague lends a helping hand.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

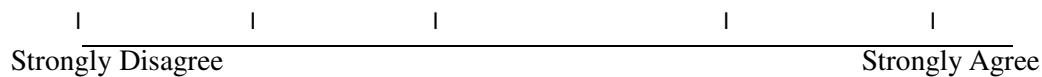
c4. I have never loaned my camera/ coat to any colleagues/classmates.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

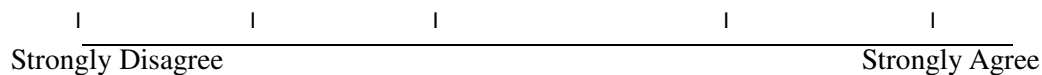
c5. We ought to develop the character of independence amongst students, so that they do not rely upon other students' help in their schoolwork.



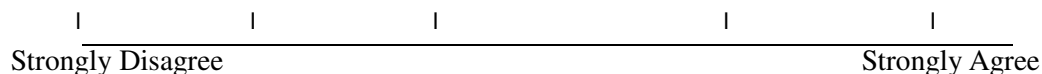
c6. A group of people at their workplace was discussing where to eat. A popular choice was a restaurant which had recently opened. However, someone in the group had discovered that the food was unpalatable. Yet the group disregarded this persons' objection, and insisted on trying it out. There were only two alternatives for the person who objected: either to go or not to go with the others. In this situation, *not going* with the others is a better choice.



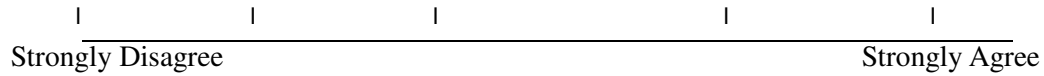
c7. There is everything to gain and nothing to lose for classmates to group themselves for study and discussion.



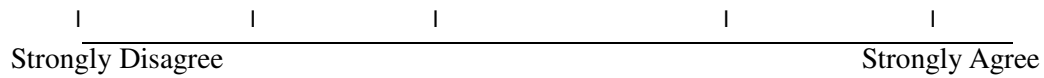
c8. Classmates' assistance is indispensable to getting a good grade at school.



c9. I would help if a colleague at work told me he/she needed money to pay utility bills.



c10. In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than one's own is not as desirable as doing the thing alone.



c11. Do you agree with the proverb “too many cooks spoil the broth”?

